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THE SCOVRGE OF THE INDIES

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EVERARD THORNTON

THE SCOVRGE OF THE INDIES

BVCCANEERS, CORSAIRS, & FILIBVSTERS,

FROM ORIGINAL TEXTS AND
CONTEMPORARY ENGRAVINGS BY

MAVRICE BESSON

SHENANDOAH COLL. & CONS. OF MUSIC LI

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The scovrge of the Indies, bvccaneers, corsairs, & filibvsters

XVI^th century map.)

INTRODUCTION

French and Spanish Adventurers in the Southern Seas.

At the end of the XVIIth century, and from then until the beginning of the reign of the great Louis, the West Indian Islands, both great and small, were peopled by adventurers. Their cloaks were more or less in rags, their broad hats had lost their plumes; they wore long rapiers, and carried muskets and carabines. There were men at arms in quest of new fields of battle, for the close of the civil and religious wars, the disappearance of the Princes' party, and the dying down of the last flickering fires of the Thirty Years War, had given them cause to fear a return to a condition of quietude essentially opposed to their natural inclinations. There were deserters from the ships of the royal navy; cadets of Gascony, Normandy and Flanders; English catholics and Scottish puritans; protestants from La Rochelle

The Pillage and Burning of an American Town by French Filibusters in the XVIIth century.

or Dieppe; hired men who had broken their bond. All these formed a moving mass, always ready for a bold attack upon some richly loaded galleon, or some opulent city, slumbering in the creole carefreeness of Spanish America.

The language of that strange army was, for the most part, French, though a few spoke English, Flemish, or even Basque. Those who belonged to it styled themselves, not without pride, filibusters *or* Brothers of the Coast. *And he who enlisted therein lost his name; his past was forgotten; he become a unit in a troop ceaselessly decimated and as ceaselessly renewed. By their bold exploits, in which the wildest rashness was wedded to the coldest calculation, by the strangeness and the roughness of their manners, the filibusters offered Europe, at a moment when the formalism of the classic revival seemed to be banishing adventure, a dream world founded upon fabulous stories, astounding fortunes, heroic deeds, and orgies of the*

A Fight between French and Spanish Adventurers at the end of the XVIIth century.
This plate, and the two which precede it, are taken from the "Grands Voyages" of de Bry.

camp. Then all who had come down in the world, all the outlaws, the good-for-nothings, the shady, all who made other men their prey, set out for the Isles, *where the hope of pillage, of combat, of a share in the Spaniards' ducats, and all the temptations which the wealth of the New World had to offer, were added to the attractions of a tropic sky.*

Thus, if we but knew it better, the history of the Filibusters would make a remarkable chanson de geste *; but the Brothers of the Coast were men of the sword rather than the pen, and have left little in writing behind them. A few of the great figures are known to us, thanks to the notes made by a Flemish doctor, Esquemeling, whom adventure had drawn to the Antilles, and who, practising his art among the filibusters, came to realise that, with them, he was living in a wonderful age. We also possess an account written by a young man of family, Ravenau de*

Lussan, of a marvellous journey to the Southern Sea, the Pacific Ocean, where these men, thirsting ever for new fields to conquer, sought in vain to grasp the fortune that evaded them. Records, a few official reports, and letters give complementary evidence, and that is all. But these scanty materials allow us to reconstruct the filibuster's life, to realise its greatness, to excuse its vices, and to perceive that these Brothers of the Coast, bandits on the high seas, laid the foundations of the finest of all France's colonies under the old régime, — Saint-Domingo. One day, these vagabonds of Glory were to call a halt: leaving their muskets in some corner, they transformed themselves into settlers, and were to be seen driving their carriages to Court, and marrying their daughters to the most noble families in the Realm. This prosperity, this fortune, the Brothers of the Coast had won from the Spaniard, taking him by the throat, compelling him to recognise the right to freedom of the seas, and forcing him to salute the King's flag that flew above the French West Indies. Many times too, they had defended those colonies against English and Dutch attacks. They left behind them in direct lineage the corsairs, whose exploits brighten the maritime history of the XVIIIth century with the wild flash of their cannonades, and the gleaming splendour of boarding axes raised aloft in savage skirmishes on decks streaming with blood.

The Haven of Tortuga, or Turtle Island, the famous Rallying Point of the Filibusters.
(Engraving of the XVIIIth century)

THE BROTHERS OF THE COAST

THEIR ORIGINS - THE BUCCANEERS
THE "CUSTOM OF THE COAST"

THE FILIBUSTERS' LIFE

CHARTER-PARTIES

« Poliarcus with his skiff attacked by Corsairs ». (Engraving of the XVIIth century.)

A BUCCANEER

This Engraving, which is unusually correct as regards detail, shows us the peculiar gun favoured by the buccaneers, made by Bracchère of Dieppe and Galin of Nantes.
Below, left, the « buccan »; middle, a duel; right, wild boar hunting.

A. Humblot del. — A. Maisonneuve Sculp.

THE ORIGINS OF THE BROTHERS OF THE COAST

Pavillon de Ras de St. Maur, long de 22 pieds 9 pouces et large de 18 pieds 9 pouces

The origin of the filibusters has been traced back to the capture of Turtle Island (1), in 1629, by French buccaneers who had been driven from the island of Saint Christopher. But for several years before that time, English and French pirates had been hunting the Spanish vessels that sailed the seas round about the West Indies. In fact, at the very beginning of the XVIth century, traces of the earliest filibusters in the Atlantic seas are to be found. In 1513, the Spanish authorities thought it wise to send two caravels to guard the coasts of Cuba against the French *ladrones*. Francis I refused to agree to the partition of the Ocean between Portugal and Spain, two nations only, and gave orders to his privateers and their captains *to proceed against the Spaniards and the Portuguese in such manner as may best secure their own advantage, until the said Spaniards and Portuguese shall suffer trade to be free within the bounds of the said lands and seas of the Indies and of America, and shall have given them free entry and access to that end into those coun-*

(1) Otherwise known as Tortuga.

tries and into the ports and harbours of the same that they may traffic and do business there. Thus the King gave his distinguished patronage to the privateers. We know how the privateer Ango of Dieppe profited by this royal counsel and menaced the king of Portugal even before the port of Lisbon.

In 1537, Don Garcia de Gelis tells us, there were forty *French pirates* in the island of Guerino, near Honduras. In November 1536, a French corsair whose name has not come down to us, seized a Spanish galleon off the coast of Cuba and cast her crew into the sea, after which he made for the port of Havana. In the roads there, four Spanish vessels surrounded the corsair and demanded his surrender. But the French refused. « Never! » declared the ship's company, « Rather, if it must be, will we die. » Their ship grounded, but for three days they kept the enemy at bay with their gunfire. Then they managed to get afloat again, and so away, with the Spaniards after them. But, when once he had reached the high seas, our corsair turned about, sank the two smaller enemy ships and took the third by storm.

In July 1542, eight hundred corsairs of Bayonne upon five fly-boats boldly entered the harbour of Santa Marta on the Venezuelan coast, and sacked that town.

On the 24th of July, 1543, Carthagena was attacked by three hundred French and English *pirates*, who in a few hours, massacred the garrison, pillaged the town and carried off 3500 gold pesos. In 1546, the town of Barbacoa, *on the mainland of America*, was sacked by pirates. Ten years later, Santiago de Cuba was seized by a party of corsairs who remained there for a month.

Little vessels, manned by twenty, forty, sixty lads at the most, incessantly sowed terror in the populations of the wealthy maritime towns of Central America. The corsair *Hallebarde*, — a remarkable surname —, a bold and hasty Gascon, boasted, somewhere about 1546, that with his poor craft he had captured forty Portuguese or Spanish vessels. Peru and its fabulous wealth aroused the cupidity of many, and this was only enhanced by the fantastic stories of the Landais nobleman Menjongen de la Cabane. In every French harbour men made ready to go and salute the Spaniards in their thriving American towns.

The wars of religion caused the protestants to inflict terrible reprisals

upon the Spaniards of the West Indies. On the 14th of July 1555, Havana was besieged by protestant filibusters who forced their way into the town, burned all the monuments, venting their especial fury upon the churches, stripping the Madonnas of the jewels and lace with which, according

Filibusters at the Capture of Carthagena in 1555 (Engraving. by F. de Bry.)

to the Spanish custom, they were clothed, and did not leave the city with an enormous booty until three weeks later. Jacques Sorès, whom we meet again at the defence of La Rochelle and Captain François le Clerc, known as « Peg-leg », Coligny's friend, worked as eager corsairs against the Spaniards in the Canaries and West Indies.

« Peg-leg » was a Norman from Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue : it was he who led the expedition against Havana in 1555. Four years before, he had been ennobled by Henri II, for the following reason, a real mention in the despatches of the naval forces : *Always among the first to board, he*

was severely wounded, having lost a leg and suffered grievous injury to one of his arms, not for that quitting his said service.

The hidalgos, thus compelled to keep perpetually on the alert, decided that no quarter should in future be given to the pirates. *The prisoners shall be sent to the galleys,* declares an order in council, *with the exception of the*

OLIVERIVS A NOORT VLTRAIECTENSIS ÆTAT. SV
AMERI
ASIA
AFRI.
Oliuerus Noortius qui Oceanum terræ globum circumhuenten navi lustravit: ex Hollandia solvens xvii. kal Sextil cIↃ. IↃ.xcviii, Roterodamum revectus pridie kal. Sept. cIↃ.IↃ. cI.

A Dutch Filibuster : Oliver Noort. (Engraving dated 1602.)
Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

captains, mates and other officers taken in the Indies, who shall be hanged or cast into the sea.

In 1576, the cliffs of Saint Domingo served as a refuge to *numerous French galleons*. The hatred of the filibusters for Spain goes back, as we may see, a very long way.

The Buccaneers of Saint-Domingo.

At the beginning of the XVIIth century, bands of adventurers flocked from Europe to the West Indies. Many had fled from the civil wars in France, England and Germany ; they sprang from every rank of society, some endowed with a strong personality and uncommon energy, others greedy for riches which might be quickly won, or, above all, thirs-

ting for independence, men who could never live in the bosom of an ordered society, men who lived for the moment, swaggerers, lovers of glory, men sometimes cruel, often generous, but cowards, never.

Buccaneers with their Womenfolk. (Italian engraving of about 1800.)

Some, less prepared to take risks, became buccaneers in the savannahs of Saint Domingo, and there lived as hunters of the buffalo, stripping, dressing and selling the skins to the captains of French and Dutch merchant ships, who carried on that lucrative trade in those days. *These men had for family neither wife nor child, nor heir of any kind : each bound himself to one of his fellows that, in the ordinary business of life he might have a helper, and one to give him succour when he should be sick. They lived together sharing all their wealth, and he who lived the longer was the heir to all. This they called a pairing.* Their appearance was rough. *Their dress was but a little jacket of*

cloth with breeches that came halfway to their knees. One had to look closely at them to know whether this garment was of cloth or not, for it was all stained with blood. Moreover, all were strangely dark of hue, their hair bristled, their beards were long, and their belts furnished with four knives and a bayonet. Their favourite arm was a musket six feet in length (1), and they wore moccasins on their feet, like the Indians.

Shoes of this kind are made of ox or pig skin, and indeed in this way : as soon as an ox or a pig is skinned, the man sets his foot within the piece of skin which covered the leg. His great toe he sets in the place where the knee was, binds it there with a sinew and cuts off what he does not need. The remainder is taken three or four inches above the heel and there tied with a sinew till it is dry, and thereafter it stays in position. It is a most comfortable foot gear, soon made and cheap. It never hurts, and prevents stones and thorns from being felt.

If a few buccaneers, tired of the chase, left their dogs and their adventures in the thickets, and became colonists cultivating tobacco and indigo on their own plantations, many of them took to filibustering. The filibusters were recruited too, directly, so to speak, by the coming to their ranks of young men from Europe, and hired men who had finished their time and were impelled by the hope of becoming rich quickly. Others again ran away from their engagements and then sought a refuge with the Brothers of the Coast. These hired men were in reality simply white slaves whom the colonizing companies collected in France and England from among beggars and the simple minded. The hired man signed an engagement for three years in lands where the *fleur de lys* floated, or for seven in the English colonies. The companies *sold* them to the colonists (then called inhabitants or settlers), who sometimes, when they came to Europe, brought with them one or more hired men in their train. The master had the right to strike his hired man or to wound him, and these forms of harshness often brought about death without anyone thinking of protesting against such a state of affairs. Sometimes the royal government was able to buy out the wretches and so save them from their fate. But this was no common happening, and there was nothing for the hired man to do but die of misery or become a filibuster.

(1) The two who supplied muskets to the buccaneers were Brachère of Dieppe and Galin of Nantes.

Non minor est tua laus LIGVR ingeniose COLVMBE, Nec te VESPVTI Tusca Thalia tacebit
Nam ductibus vobis prius inlustrata secuntur, Qua loca PARVAIIM pagina sacra vocat
ORBEM alij vocitasse NOVUM sed AMERICA tellus Magnanimo retinet nomen ab AMERICO.
Hinc varias species, hinc nobilitora metalla, Hinc signa et gemmas uncta carina refert.

The Discovery of America and its Riches. (Dutch Engraving by P. Sibrant.)

THE CUSTOM OF THE COAST

About the year 1640, the filibusters formed a kind of confraternity, the vows of which were, so to speak, condensed in the *Custom of the Brothers of the Coast*. This code was closely inspired by the procedure of the buccaneers. The fundamental principles of the Custom of the filibusters required the election of the captain and the officers, and the division in due form of the booty taken by the expedition. A charter-party was signed before departure and scrupulously kept. This was concerned with the conditions upon which vessels should be taken and the sharing of the booty.

The Custom of the Brothers of the Coast was handed on from one expedition to another, and the veterans who passed their time drinking and smoking their pipes in the taverns of the Dominican ports of Léogane, Little Goyave, or of Turtle Island, saw that it was duly carried out. Every filibuster swore that he would strictly observe the regulations of the code, and signed his oath with a cross.

Essentially republican, the Custom of the Brothers left every decision of importance to free discussion followed by a vote. Further, noblemen and commoners were completely intermingled, and courage alone conferred distinction. Supplies and rations had to be shared equally among the Brothers ; any comrade who introduced on board a woman in disguise was punished by death : no « lady » in fact was ever allowed to stay upon a vessel, for fear of the quarrels that might ensue. Theft was very severely punished : the Custom ordained that when one Brother stole from another, his nose and ears were to be cut off. If he sinned again, he was to be given a musket, bullets, lead, and a bottle of water, and then marooned (1). If there was any doubt about the crime, a court of honour was to decide ; the judges taking oath upon the crucifix if they were catholics, and on the Bible if they were protestants. Each association named a judge whose duty it was to see carried into execution the sentences awarded for slight faults, sentences which varied only in the number of strokes of the lash to be given.

(1) This is what happened to Robinson Crusoe (Alexander Selkirk), whom a corsair captain left upon the desert isle of Juan Fernandez on the Chilean coast. Not till five years later did an English squadron find the unfortunate man.

According to Father Du Tertre, the filibusters asserted that *they owed allegiance only to God, except for whom, the earth whereon they lived had no other masters than themselves, they having attained the mastery at peril of their lives over a nation which had itself usurped it from the Indians.* That nation was Spain.

Robinson Crusoe, from the first edition (1729) in the British Museum. The virtuous Robinson was really a filibuster called Selkirk. (Engraving by Clark and Pine.)

Filibusters were forbidden to fight on board ship. If a quarrel broke out, it could be settled only at the first landing, when a strange type of combat was decided before the comrades. The adversaries first fired upon one another, then, if they missed, they threw down their pistols and took to swords.

Those in authority paid the most scrupulous attention to the condi-

Buccaneers hunting the Agouti. (Engraving from l'Histoire générale des Antilles.)

tion of the arms, which were bought at the charge of each adventurer. Cards and gambling were forbidden in principle, but on this point, the Custom of the Coast was continually violated.

In the matter of religion the filibusters were very broad minded. Father Charlevoix, in his *Histoire de l'Ile espagnole*, tells us : « Religion retained few of its rights, and they thought they were doing well indeed if they did not entirely forget the God of their fathers. »

Honours were not despised by the Brothers, but they took the form of money gifts. The capture of an enemy flag was rated at fifty piasters, the taking of an enemy so that information could be obtained from him, a hundred piasters, while five piasters were awarded for a well judged shot at the enemy's defences. The filibusters, like the buccaneers, formed couples and exchanged a kind of will whereby the survivor inherited the property and prizes of the dead. The partner had the right to share any woman whom his « pair » secured at the sack of a town, and, indeed, any woman who fell into the hands of the adventurers became a prey to their passions.

At Turtle Island and Jamaica, whenever an expedition returned, feasting occupied the whole time and the shops of the colony were emptied of their contents. In a few hours, the booty was dissipated on gambling, women and drink. Without a country, with no home, with no care for the future, the filibusters fought, not to enrich themselves, not so that one day they might rest upon their laurels, with a comfortable fortune ; they fought to conquer, to pillage, and to make the best of what the moment offered. For divers reasons they preferred to keep their names unknown, and so took to themselves nicknames like Chase-Afoot, Never-Fail, Hove-To, Pebble-Smasher, One-Arm, Halberd, and Musket. Sometimes, in their pirate hearts, the love of their native land still remained vigorous, and made them capable of the most heroic sacrifices, which thrilled friends and enemies alike with admiration and esteem. Often, they achieved surprising things with the sole object of bringing glory upon their own name and that of the society to which they belonged.

Charter-parties.

Before every departure each captain prepared a charter-party which was signed by the whole ship's company. It was in fact, the social contract of the expedition. The chief terms of these contract charters were as follows :

1. Tortue faisant son trou pour pondre
2. Comme on la retourne . p 127
3 Varre de la Tortue 270 5. Resinier . 186. 7 Arras . p 267. 9. Chasse des poissons volants 212. 11 Restu au cul ou oiseau du tropique . 176. 13. Crabier
4 Courbaril p 189. 6. Pie d'Inde 8 Perroquets . 250. 10. Fregatte p. 269. 12 Flamant 267 14. Grand gosier p 278.

Filibusters fishing for turtle at Saint Domingo (Engraving from : " Histoire Gènérale des Antilles " by the R. P. Jean-Baptiste du Tertre. Paris MDCLXXI.)

If the vessel, armed and in quest of action, is the common property of the crew, the first vessel captured shall fall to the captain with one share of the spoil.

If the vessel is the property of the captain in his sole right, the first vessel captured with two parts of the spoil shall fall to him, but he shall be obliged to burn that of the two ships which shall be of the less worth.

If the vessel which belongs to the captain is lost by shipwreck, the crew pledges itself to remain with its chief until he has possessed himself, by whatever means, of another vessel.

The ship's surgeon shall have two hundred crowns for the maintenance of his medicine chest whether prize be taken or not, and should a prize be taken, he shall further receive one part of the spoil. If there be not money to satisfy him, he shall be apportioned two slaves.

The other officers shall receive each a single part, with the exception of him who shall distinguish himself. In this event the crew as a whole shall, by a majority of votes, accord him a reward.

He who shall be the first to signal, whether by day or night, the appearance of the vessel that is captured, shall receive a hundred crowns.

The loss of an eye during the fight shall be compensated by a hundred crowns or the gift of a slave.

That of two eyes shall be worth six hundred crowns or six slaves.

That of the right hand or the right arm shall be worth two hundred crowns or two slaves.

That of both hands or both arms shall be worth six hundred crowns or six slaves.

When a Brother of the Coast shall, in a certain part of his body, receive a wound which obliges him to wear a cannula, he shall be given two hundred crowns or two slaves.

Every man who shall be mutilated shall have the right to receive payment of the indemnity above determined either in kind or in money, provided that the nature of the prize allows his desire to be satisfied. In the contrary case he shall be satisfied at the next prize.

The following is a copy of the charter-party, signed by the pirate Dulaïen and his French sailors in 1727 after the massacre of the Spaniards of the crew of a ship that cruised in the Gulf of Mexico. Already it has more of the Corsair than of the Filibuster about it.

Laus Deo.

The charter-party list of the rules which all brave men of the sea must obey, here as follows :

Article 1. — We, the undersigned, receive and recognise as our good captain, Mr. Jean Thomas Dulaïen, under the following conditions :

That, should one among us disobey him in all that he shall command for the use and service of his comrades, he shall be allowed to have such men chastised according to their crime, or he shall desist, if the majority of votes is against him.

Article 2. — As his lieutenant we recognise Mr. Antoine Durand of Lyons, and with him shall be the charge of the chest of gold and silver. He shall be allowed to go on board the prizes to reckon up the worth of all the contents of the cargo.

Article 3. — Should a dispute arise between two of the comrades, he who shall be proved in the wrong shall, the first time, be pardoned, but should he offend again, he shall be tied to a gun, and there shall receive from each of the ship's company one stroke of the lash.

Article 4. — Those among us, the officers included, who shall get drunk to the point of losing their senses, shall, for the first offence, be tied to a gun, and receive from each of his fellows, one stroke of the lash as above decreed.

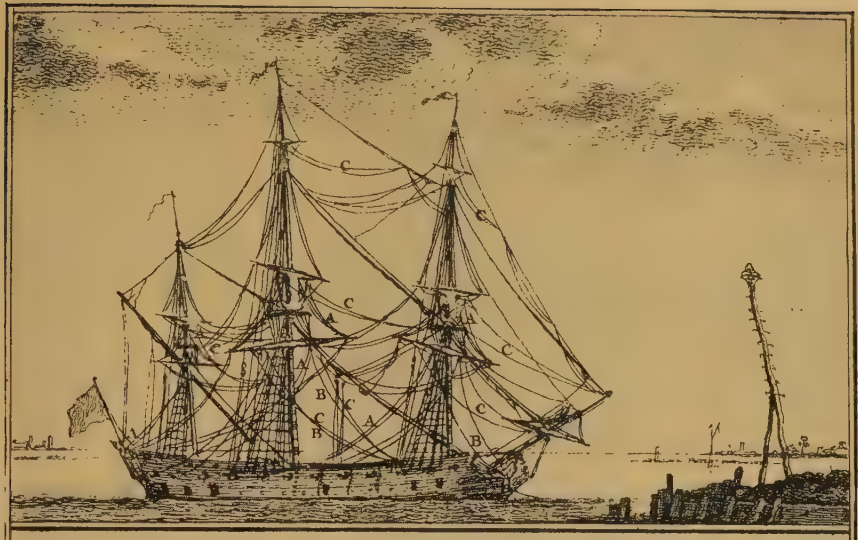
Article 5. — We do all with one accord agree that they who go aboard a prize shall obey their officers implicity. Whatever each among us shall take shall be brought to the foot of the mainmast, that it may there be distributed by the officers to each in equal portion. And those of us who shall go aboard the corsair, returning from the prize, shall be searched in presence of an officer, and he who shall have upon him anything to the value of four reals (30 sols) without declaring the same shall have his head split open on the spot. Nor shall it be allowed to any of us to put any load into the prizes except when necessity requires it and with the consent of the officer, under pain of suffering upon a cannon the chastisement above decreed.

Article 6. — Those of us who shall steal from another any property of any sort, the thief shall be made to return the very object stolen, and then be taken to a cannon to receive the punishments decreed above.

Article 7. — In respect of prizes which shall surrender voluntarily, without making any resistance, it is forbidden to each of us to kill the prisoners, the Spaniards excepted.

Article 8. — And so far as may be concerned our brothers wounded or mutilated,

The Filibuster Selkirk, whose adventures suggested Robinson Crusoe *to Daniel de Foe. (Engraving of the XVIII^th century.)*



FLUTTE

Les flutes, sont des bâtiments de charge, qui ne sont pas construits directem^t. pour la guerre, et si on en parle ici c'est a cause de l'usage que l'on en fait quelque fois a la suite des armees, et pour achever l'explication des manœuvres des V.^aux On emploie les flutes, a porter les ustanciles et munitions de guerre a la suitte des armées, elles y servent souvent d'Hopitaux, on en tire de grands services pour le transport des bois, et autres marchandises, dans les arsenaux, ainsi, que pour l'aprovisionement des Colonies, et des escadres, qui sont obligées de tenir longtems la mer; les grandes flutes, sont susceptibles de porter une artillerie assés forte, pour pouvoir en tems de guerre, remplir leur commis = sion sans escorte, on en construit de differentes grandeurs, suivant le ser = vice que l'on en veut tirer, Elles ont souvent une demie Batterie basse, comme celle qui est repres^tée ici. On ne les designe point, par le nombre de leurs canons, comme les Vaisseaux de guerre, mais par le poids de leur charge, en disant une flutte, de 2, 3, ou 4, cents tonneaux, &c ſh∫ cet usage, est général, pour tous les Bâtiments de Commerce. Les Flutes que l'on construit, pour les chargements de mats, sont ordinairement plus longues, que celles qui regardent le transport d'autres marchandises.

Cette Figure, represente les voiles serrés, et toutes les manœuv^s du V.^au reunies on y repette les noms des amures, ecoutes, et Boulines, parcequ'on ne les voit pas assés clai = rement, dans les sujets précédents.
A, *les Ecoutes.* B, *les Amures.* C, *les Boulines.*
Dans les details qu'on vient de donner des agrès d'un V.^au on n'a point parlé des Variétés, qui se rencontrent quelques fois dans les manœuvres courantes parcequ'on a pensé qu'il etoit inutile, d'augmenter les details d'un Sujet, qui est deja assés compliqué par Lui meme, d'ailleurs, ces changements, ne sont jamais assés considérables, pour causer de grandes méprises particulierement, aux jeunes marins, que ces details interessent le plus.

we are bound by common agreement to do what is necessary for them, having them treated by the surgeons, and moreover, they shall have their portion as the others.

Article 9. — Whoever shall be placed on sentry, and upon this post shall go to sleep without giving warning to the officer of the watch, shall, in the first case, be lashed, etc. and should he again offend, his head shall be split open. It shall, however, be allowed him, if he can no longer contend against slumber, to have himself relieved on giving warning to the officer of the watch.

Article 10. — If the vessels which we attack defend themselves under the black flag, and then after hoisting the red flag, they fire three times upon us, no quarter shall be given to any aboard them.

Article 11. — All they who shall plot to desert, or having deserted, shall be captured, shall have their heads split open.

The centres of the filibusters.

The activities of the filibusters were especially directed against the ships of the Spaniards. They cruised along the coasts of Caracas, Carthagena and Nicaragua, from 1630 to 1700 ; many times they attacked the maritime cities of Campeachy and Maracaibo, and they were often to be found along the coast of Cuba, where they took the towns of Santiago and Havana. The places they chose for their field of operations were very well selected, and as the surgeon Esquemeling, the annalist of the Brothers of the Coast, tells us : *the richest prizes which are taken in all these places are the vessels which come from New Spain by Maracaibo, where there is a trade in the cocoa from which chocolate is made. If they are taken on their journey thither it is their money that is taken. But if on their return, the whole of the cocoa is seized. Wherefore, they are watched for as they leave Cape Saint Anthony, or Cape de Catoche, or at Cape Corientes where they are always obliged to come and reconnoitre.*

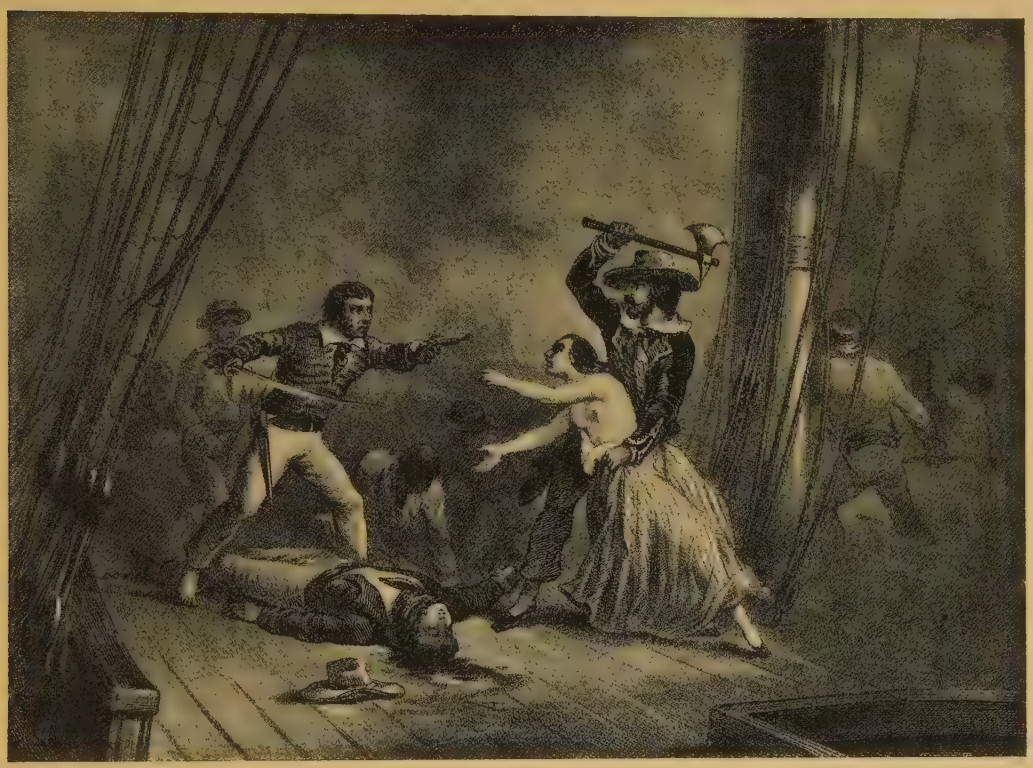
As for the prizes which are taken on the Caracas coast, these are vessels coming from Spain laden with all manner of laces and other manufactured goods.

Those which are taken as they leave Havana are vesssels loaded with silver and merchandise for Spain, such as hides, logwood, cocoa and tobacco.

The filibusters' fleet.
The bases.
The ships used.
Methods of fighting.
The personnel.

The filibusters sailed upon the most diverse types of ship : they set out of the harbour of Petit Goyave in Saint Domingo, or from the haven of the Turtle, upon long barques which they quitted for the first prizes they took, pataches, fly-boats, frigates, galleys, brigantines and galleons. The long barque was usually built on the shores of Saint Domingo by

the Brothers of the Coast themselves ; it had a deck at the stern and was armed with six guns. The brigantine, which was much favoured by the filibusters of the West Indies, was fully decked, fifty feet long and ten across ; it was swift, furnished with a sail and with very long oars and



Morgan the Pirate captures the beautiful Spaniard.

the regular type of vessel used by the privateers. But the ideal ship was the armed frigate with from fifty to ninety fire ports which made it the most esteemed vessel for a corsair who had become a pirate and was scouring the high seas on his own account.

Armament varied according to the ships : success, at least in the earliest days of the filibusters, depended upon the individual efforts and the common courage of the Brothers. Their tactics were simple : to avoid the enemy's fire by lying flat upon the deck, then to close with the Spaniard,

throw out the grappling irons and stream onto the deck of the vessel attacked. The long musket which was used on shore was left behind, and the men pulled themselves over the side, a pistol in each hand, an axe in the belt and a naked sabre between the teeth. Once on the deck, the struggle was to the death. The corsairs knew that for them there was no withdrawing, and that to yield meant only to be hanged at the mainmast. And those attacked were not unaware that a weakening of their resistance would entail their being thrown into the sea or made slaves in the galleys. But a vessel once boarded was almost surely lost. The filibusters, as soon as they found themselves masters of the situation, shut up the Spaniards who were still left below decks, and often, after casting both dead and dying into the sea, they massacred their prisoners *so as to have no other mouths to feed.*

Between 1630 and 1680 the ranks of the filibusters were continually being increased ; their adventurous exploits were in everybody's mouth, and there was no shortage of vocations. When we read the stories of the great filibuster captains, we quickly realise the extreme diversity of their origins. The great majority of them were French or English ; Dutch and Flemish also appear in the picture. The principal element was composed of men connected with the sea, officers of the mercantile marine, *navigators,* as they were called at the time, deserting sailors, boatswains. Then there were also deserters from the army and all the *good fellows* who, from near or far, preferred not to remain in too close touch with the justice of their own countries.

It was proved by experience, and the example of the governor Jean-Baptiste Ducasse at the capture of Carthagena showed it, that these filibusters, sailors with an easy conscience and an empty purse, who loathed the shipowners, *those podgy old fellows who sleep too comfortably in their beds,* could, in the course of an important military operation, transform themselves into the finest class of troops. What they needed were combat and assault, and when they returned, orgies and the gambling board. A few days later they were ready to set out once more on the wildest expeditions, rather than to resume the monotonous life of the merchant marine. Very few of them decided to go back along the beaten paths.

Colonial Policy and the filibusters under Louis XIV. The Pirates.

The governors of the French colonies in the West Indies and their English colleagues too, often made use of the services of the filibusters, indeed, every time that there was war between Spain or England and France. Letters of marque were then given to the filibuster captains, and their positions thus put upon a regular footing ; but when, in a period of peace, the Brothers of the Coast fitted out a ship for themselves, they became pirates.

As the West Indies gradually developed a population of *settlers,* so the buccaneers and filibusters disappeared. Some of their captains *went into retirement,* giving up the Custom of the Coast to become chiefs of the different districts of Saint Domingo. These changes were brought about by the skill of Governor Jean-Baptiste Ducasse. *That he might transform the intrepid conquerors of Saint Domingo,* M. de La Vaissière tells us in his work upon that lost colony, *Governor Ogeron invoked the aid of a sex which has the capacity to soothe evil tempers and increase mens' inclination for sociability.* Oregon and Ducasse had sent to France for *humble orphans who should reduce to subjection these haughty beings in whom revolt had become a habit, and transform them into good husbands, virtuous fathers of families.* One day, Oregon declared : *Corbleu ! I will fetch chains from France to fetter these rascals ! At the time,* Father Le Pers tells us, *none understood what he meant, and when a ship with fifty girls aboard arrived, the mystery became deeper still.* These young ladies had come from an environment sufficiently remarkable, and de Wimpfen in his Voyage to Saint Domingo, notes that *they sent to the first settlers of Saint Domingo, whores from the Salpétrière, sluts picked out of the mud, brazen hussies whose manners and language were so dissolute that one is astonished to find that they have not persisted.* But was not the first man to be king, as we are told, just a lucky soldier? Letters of marque were more difficult to obtain and the filibusters, not having the same facilities for coming together at Léogane, developed into independent corsairs, on board swift brigantines, who attacked French, English, Spanish or Dutch vessels without distinction. And so doing, they became real pirates.

50 girls are imported to tame the pirates.

Filibustering, by 1720, had become piracy on the high seas ; its heroic days were over. Moreover, the King's fleet cruised continuously in the Caribbean sea to put a stop to this brigandage.

The dispersion of the Brothers of the Coast.

The pirates scattered to avoid being caught. Some went to Terra-Nova and the North American shores ; others to the Gulf of Darien where they built up a kind of republic that lasted for a considerable time. Its members allied themselves with the Bravo Indians. A document that has been preserved for us in the Archives states that on the 7th of October 1729, the *Charlemagne* arrived at Nantes twenty-five days late, this lateness being due to an order of the Governor of Martinique that the ship should not leave port until there was no more risk that it might be taken by the pirates who infested the West Indies. Several left the Atlantic and made their base on the coast of Madagascar that they might scour the Indian Ocean. The seas were still very unsafe, and it was the period of that form of maritime insurance known as *against great risks and perils.* It was the time when the corsairs gave to merchant ships the name of *sardines* or *flying fish*, forgetting to state that they themselves came into the class of *sharks.*

Following the example of the English government, the royal French authorities in 1718 offered an amnesty to those pirates who would voluntarily give up their pursuits. But very few profited by this offer, for they feared a return of the offensive against them, so dark was their piratical past. They remained at their old games, lurking in the gulfs of the West Indian Islands, with the ships of the French and English fleets ever in chase of them, until, little by little, they disappeared. *If, even to-day,* says the « Gazette du Commerce » of May 11th, 1765, *there are still piracies upon the seas, it happens most frequently in America in the case of certain vessels whose crews have mutinied against their officers, and have rid themselves of those officers by setting them upon the shore and leaving them to perish. But it is seldom that these mutinous crews are able to practise their brigandage for long.*

The boldness of the filibusters, their manners, (which were as little orthodox as one can possibly imagine), and their exploits, for long years formed the main theme of a legend which, in a hundred different acts, remained current among the creole peoples of the *Islands.* In the notes upon the Indies written by the historian Margry *(Archives Nationales. — Nouvelles acquisitions françaises*, No. 9325), we find the delightful story which is here reproduced exactly as it appears :

Several filibusters who had been killed in a fight went to knock at the gate of Paradise, where none of them before that time had ever been admitted. But now, Saint Peter having opened the gate without having made too close inquiry as to who might be without, our Adventurers failed not to enter Paradise with great haste, and there remained, despite the command given to them to depart, as soon as they were known for what they were.

Never had Saint Peter been so troubled, until he devised an expedient that succeeded. A Ship! suddenly he cried, A Ship! — Where? forthwith the filibusters asked... To leeward, said Saint Peter, pointing to a spot that was without Paradise. — After her! cried the filibusters at once, and dashed forth, imagining that they were giving chase. But as soon as Saint Peter saw them outside, he quickly shut the gate upon them, and we are told that after that time he was always at great pains to avoid all such surprises.

If the filibusters did not enter Paradise, they found their way into History.

SOME PORTRAITS OF GREAT FILIBUSTERS

Captn Hen Morgan *before* Panama,
Which he took from the Spaniards.

(English Engraving of the XVIIIth century)

MONTBARS THE EXTERMINATOR *Engraving by Ravenet.*

MONTBARS THE EXTERMINATOR
AND
PIERRE LEGRAND OF DIEPPE

The first French filibusters began life in very diverse circumstances. Some had been sailors, others hired men, young noblemen, officers of the mercantile marine, adventurers of every kind and of every character. Montbars the Exterminator (1) was a Gascon of good family who became a Brother of the Coast out of a furious hatred for the Spaniards. He had been a midshipman on one of the King's ships which his uncle commanded, and sailed upon it against the Spanish fleets. In the very first encounter Montbars showed himself possessed of irresistible energy, was one of the first to board the enemy and cut down several of his opponents. When he reached Saint Domingo, Montbars, learning that some of the buccaneers had been forced to fly before the banners of Spain, sought them out and suggested that he should become their leader. An expedition set out and soon an enemy troop was encountered. Montbars was anxious to begin hostilities. *Gently, Good Sir,* said the brocantiers, *Keep this eagerness for more urgent occasions.* The buccaneers pretended to set up camp, and by this trick laid an ambush for their enemy. There was a sharp set-to, and Montbars, leaping upon a horse whose rider he had killed, charged the Spaniards in a fury. They fled, leaving several Indians in the hands of the buccaneers who returned in triumph to the coast. Montbars' uncle then offered him the command of a patache which he had just captured, the crew of which was made up of buccaneers and Indians who would not part from their *good gentleman.*

Montbars the Exterminator

A few days later, Montbars with his patache and his company of filibusters was not able to prevent the King's ship which his uncle commanded from being surrounded. His uncle blew up the ship rather than surrender. Montbars swore to avenge his relative, and to such a point did he keep his word that Spaniards and filibusters alike always called him

(1) In the old authors we find this name spelt sometimes Monbar, sometimes Monbars, sometimes Monbard. It is notorious that the spelling of proper names was very irregular under the old régime.

the *Exterminator*. Having become a Brother of the Coast, he attached himself to men, who like Captain Laurent and the Dutchman van Horn, had had a certain amount of education and were of a higher class than the majority of the adventurers. Montbars' capacity, moreover, quickly showed his fitness for the part of leader of an expedition. He made ready for one which has remained famous in the annals of the filibusters.

The business was organised on the grand scale : men, material and vessels were collected ; the rallying point was the Ile à la Vache, on the coast of Saint Domingo. The French filibusters were in the majority, but Montbars also *invited the English to take part in it. The Brothers of the Coast proclaimed him « their governor »*. Two ships were already fitted out when there appeared on the scene an English ship of 22 guns, whose captain at first refused to recognise Montbars' authority. The arrival of the filibuster Gramont, with 300 men upon a brig of 36 guns, soon made him change his mind.

On the eve of departure, *Montbars summoned all the captains to a council to decide the place that should be attacked, and to take stock of their available forces, the capacity of those forces, and the length of time their supplies would hold out. During the council the healths of the King of France and the governor were drunk. While the captains were enjoying themselves in the cabin, the others were doing the same on deck, and all, even the surgeons, were under the influence of wine. By chance it happened that the powder caught fire and the ship with all on board was blown into the air. As on this vessel the powder magazine was in the forecastle, those in the cabin suffered no further harm than to find themselves in the water.* On the other hand, three hundred of their men were drowned.

The expedition, somewhat delayed by this event, finally set off with 15 ships and 960 filibusters, and, after a stay in a gulf by the headland of Hispaniola, arrived before the lake of Maracaibo, on the Venezuelan coast.

The lake of Maracaibo is a vast opening going far into the land, whose entrance is formed by a narrow neck which is further protected by a bar like that of the *Côte d'Afrique*. To defend the entrance the Spaniards had built a fort, the Bar Fort. The filibuster squadron was welcomed by the fire of this fortress. After a cannonade which lasted the whole morning the Spaniards' reply weakened, and Montbars lowered the boats, and putting himself in the lead, set out to take the fort by storm. To his great

The Principal Centre of the Privateers' Activity.
(Map of 1713.)

surprise the *furia* of the Brothers of the Coast met with no resistance : the fortress was empty! The filibusters took possession of 14 guns, some hundreds of pounds of gunpowder, mortars and 80 muskets.

The fleet then entered the lake and prepared to attack the town of Maracaibo. Landing parties made their way carefully towards the ramparts while the ships' batteries kept up a steady fire. No reply came from the Spanish side : open gates, silence, — everything seemed to show that the town had been evacuated. As they wandered through the streets of the abandoned city, Montbars' men took a few prisoners, feeble trembling old men who told them that troops and population alike had fled to Gibraltar, a town farther on upon the lake shore. The filibusters then marched to the assault of this town, but there again *everything was still, — silence and surrender.*

This was not at all what the Brothers of the Coast cared for. In small parties, scouring the outlying districts, searching the countryside with consummate skill, they discovered a few inhabitants and slaves, whom they put to the torture to make them confess where the treasures had been hidden and where the Spaniards themselves might be found.

The same day, Montbars came to a fine dwelling, and quite near, hidden in the woods, he found some refugees, among them an old Portuguese together with another, younger, man. This old man, who was more than sixty years old was accused by a slave of being rich, and was thereupon put to the torture to make him confess where he had put his money. But he would say nothing save that he had a hundred crowns which the young man who was with him had carried. The filibusters would not believe a word of this and continued to put him to the torture. After having given him the *estrapade*, with unimaginable cruelty, they tied him by hands and feet to the four corners of a house, which they called *swimming on dry land.* A stone which weighed fully 500 pounds was placed upon his middle, and *four men with staves tightened the ropes which held him, till his whole body was in agony.* Incredible though it may seem, the old man would confess nothing, and to complete their work the filibuster had to *make a fire beneath him which burned his face.* As for the young man, who had been taken with him near the house, Montbars ordered him to be given the *estrapade*, after which he had him *suspended*

by those parts which modesty forbids us to mention, and these were well nigh snatched out. Then he was cast into a ditch, but not before he had been slashed with swords. It appears that a prisoner taken some time later declared that the young man was not dead. Life must have been marvellously strong within him!

The filibusters, retracing their steps, burned and pillaged Gibraltar, then they established themselves — how, may well be imagined — in Maracaibo, smashing, tearing down, rooting through all the houses.

VUE DE LA VILLE DES CAYES,

Isle St. Domingue.

They were hard at work when news came that three fine frigates had closed the entrance to the lake. It was a Spanish squadron, and Montbars was caught in a trap. He had either to make his way out or perish. A fire-ship was hastily built, disguised as an ordinary vessel by the construction of false port holes, and a crew of pirates was simulated by setting a number of old felt hats upon pieces of wood. Montbars called his men together and addressed them. *The arrival of this squadron is splendid news : the Spaniard is giving us the chance of a glorious victory. Courage, these bravados shall see our faces but you will only see their backs.* The town of Maracaibo had to furnish forthwith, and under pain of being burned, a sum of 2,000 crowns, and then the fleet of the Brothers of the Coast, with the fire-ship at their head, sailed forth to attack the Spanish vessels. The fire-ship attaching itself to the admiral's flagship, forced

officers and crew to take to the water ; the second frigate was taken by storm, and the third, cutting its cables, fled to the high seas.

History does not tell us what became of Montbars the Exterminator. Did he retire to his village in Gascony when he had made his fortune ? Did he become a *settler* in Saint Domingo, and was he buried beneath the tall palms of a tropical garden? Did his life one day come to an end

VUE DU BOURG DE L'ANSE-A-VEAU,

Isle S.t Domingue.

A. P. D. R.

at the yard arm of some Spanish warship? The Spanish admiralty had placed a price upon his head, but usually, a Brother of the Coast only rendered his soul to God in a warm and comfortable bed.

The surgeon Esquemeling, the historian of the earlier corsairs, gives us the following details about Montbars : *I remember seeing him once when passing through the gulf of Honduras. He was keen, alert, and full of energy, as are all Gascons. He was tall, straight ,and strong, noble and martial in appearance, dark of hue. It would be difficult to say for certain either the shape or the colour of his eyes; the thick, black brows met in an arch above them, and almost completely covered them, so that they seemed hidden beneath a vault of darkness. At first sight it*

might be known that such a man must be terrible. Indeed, it was commonly said that, in a fight, he began to conquer by the very terror which his glance inspired, and finished by the employment of a Herculean strength, which, in a hand to hand bout, it was almost impossible to resist.

Pierre Legrand of Dieppe.

If Montbars was the younger son of a noble Gascon house, Pierre Legrand was a shipowner of Dieppe, a man well known in that port. He was a cold and hardy Norman who had been ruined by a speculation that turned out badly. He set out for the Islands to tempt fortune anew, fitted out a poor barque with a crew of but twenty filibusters, and an armament of little iron cannon, and with that set out to dare the galleons of Spain. But instead of merchant vessels, Pierre Legrand found himself face to face with a frigate of 75 guns and a company of two hundred men. The filibuster did not hesitate; he sank his barque, boarded the Spaniard with his twenty men, having no other choice than that between death and victory. He dashed with lighted match to the powder magazine ready to blow the ship to pieces if the crew did not lay down their arms. Before this energetic onslaught, the Spaniards, surprised, yielded. The officers, who had wished to resist, were massacred, and Pierre Legrand went to Léogane with a prize that *made him rich for all the rest of his life.* Like a prudent Norman, Pierre Legrand left Saint Domingo and was never seen again there. It is thought that he bought some fine pasture lands in the Caux country, and died upon them, the churchwarden of his parish.

Washerwomen at Saint Domingo. (Engraving by Brunias.)

MONTAUBAN OF BORDEAUX
WOMEN FILIBUSTERS AND SOME OTHERS

Captain Montauban was a *navigator of Bordeaux* whose privateering activities upon the Ocean lasted for twenty years.

In 1691, he led an expedition to the coast of Guinea and to Cape Lopez. He captured the fortress of Sierra Leone which was protected by twenty-four guns, blew it up, and so caused considerable damage to the English settlement.

In 1694, Captain Montauban captured a British convoy at Bermuda, and on his way back with his prizes to Bordeaux, his home port, he captured a vessel of 16 guns which he towed as far as La Rochelle and there sold, afterwards proceeding to Gironde with his three other prizes. *The filibusters of his company, who had not seen France for a long time, finding themselves in a town where all things were in abundance, spent much money, and none made difficulty about lending to them by reason of the rumour of the great prizes wherein they had a share. So far did their extravagance go that not content with running round the town afoot by day and night, they had themselves carried thereto in chairs, with torches going before lighted even in full day. Debauchery caused the death of some among them; others deserted, and Captain Montauban, perceiving that his following was growing less, determined to set forth as soon as might be* (Esquemeling *op. cit.*)

Torches lighted in broad day light.

It was to the African coasts of Guinea that the frigate of twenty-four guns belonging to the corsair captain Montauban proceeded in February 1695. After an undecided struggle with a big Dutch ship-of-war, the Captain captured an *English ship armed with 24 guns and laden with elephant tusks and three hundred negroes.* This was off the island of Saint-Thomé. Some days afterwards, he came upon a ship of the line flying the English flag. She carried 52 guns. There was a severe struggle, the boarding was desperate, and the enemy flag was already taken when the English commander, throwing a match into the magazine, blew up both ships, grappled together as they were. After a flight through the air, Montauban found himself swimming towards a boat which picked up sixteen survivors. The wounded were tended; Montauban had his wounds washed with urine and his

head bandaged with a piece of his shirt. Three days the boat floated aimlessly upon the waters; hunger and thirst racked the filibusters. At last, having got over the bar, they went along the African coast, feeding upon shell fish. So they came to Cape Lopez, and there, to the negroes who appeared, Montauban declared that he had previously gone ashore

VUE DE LA RADE DE LEOGANE.

Partie de la Gonave. *Isle St Domingue.* *Fort-la-Pointe.*
Mouillage. *Embarcadere.*

in that place and was the friend of their chief, *Prince Thomas.* Taken before that black princeling, the captain could not succeed in securing recognition : this is not difficult to understand when we learn that *the fire had burned his side, his face and hair, and that the roar of the explosion had caused so great a disturbance in his organs that blood had been seen to pour from his nose, his ears, and his mouth.* Prince Thomas, as unbelieving as his patron saint, remembered that *one day when he had been bathing with Montauban, he had seen the scar of a wound wich the captain had received from a musket ball*

in the hip. « I shall know whether you are really Captain Montauban » he said to him, *« and if you are not I shall cut off your head. »* When he had seen the scar, he believed, or rather, recognised his old friend, embraced him and showed him a thousand kindnesses. Banquets, feasts ; nothing was lacking, and Montauban had the honour of holding over the baptismal font, Prince Thomas's son and heir, to whom he gave the name of *Louis the Great.*

Some Portuguese ships arrived at Cape Lopez, and Captain Montauban embarked on them and so came to Barbadoes. On this island, Montauban, as Napoleon after him, had a sorry experience of British good faith, for, having been accepted as a passenger by an English filibuster captain, that very day he was clapped into irons and imprisoned. However, a few months afterwards he was released.

Montauban once more prowled through the Carribean seas, frequently taking prizes. But, as Ribadieu tells us in his *Histoire Maritime de Bordeaux,* the corsair was very scrupulous upon points of honour. The following fact makes this clear :

One day, the captain Montauban was acting as convoy to a Spanish ship which the filibusters had agreed, for a becoming sum, to take to its destination. It carried a rich cargo, and one of his company proposed, in spite of the agreement, to seize the defenceless ship. Montauban's honest soul was disgusted; he demanded to be freed from his command without delay and put ashore. « No » cried the crew, « We will not leave thee. Far from us the horrid treachery which has just been suggested ! No traitors among us ! No treason, and long live Captain Montauban ! »

From this little story it is easy to understand how when Captain Montauban, having been released by the English, and his voyages brought to an end, came to live in peaceful retirement at Bordeaux, he was *esteemed by all his fellow citizens. They had always recognised in him a sailor, brave, skilled, and greatly missed by his old comrades in arms to whom he had always given an example of courage, honesty and consideration.* He died in 1699, leaving to the poor of Bordeaux a part of the small fortune which he had gathered on his cruises.

Besides Normans and Gascons, the filibusters numbered in their ranks Basques like Michel le Basque and Junqué ; Bretons, of whom the most illustrious was at one time Cassard ; and even Parisians, like the Chevalier de Gramont. Foreigners too joined the filibusters, especially

A fight between Captain Morgan's English Filibusters and the French Colonists of Saint Christopher (1666).

the Flemings, two of whom gained a great reputation on the coast of Saint Domingo, Van Horn and Laurent de Graff. The latter received letters of naturalisation from France, and Governor Ducasse appointed him *lieutenant of the district of the French Cape*. There were a certain number of Englishmen among the filibusters, and some leaders belonged *to that nation*. An English filibuster, Louis Scott, took by storm the town of

Morgan's Cruelty [*Panama*], *1671. (Taken from the History of the Pirates.)*

Santo-Francisco, and another, Tusley, crossed New Granada to go to the Southern Sea. But, by degrees, the Brothers of the Coast of Saint Domingo left the English companies whose centre of operations became Jamaica. Morgan, Teach the Black-Beard, and Edward England had very few Frenchmen under their command.

Women filibusters.

The life of adventure attracted women too. We know how, in the time of Louis XIII, a feminine population was found for those far off lands where the fleur-de-lys flew. Young girls and young women whom the police had arrested for various reasons were sent out, and thereafter, there were not a few Manon Lescauts in our West Indian islands. Orphans,

foundlings and servants were also sent. The newcomers were distributed by the governors among the *settlers* who sometimes married them. Many, casting respectability once more to the winds, settled in the low haunts of Petit-Goyave and the Turtle, and became experts in the art of making the doubloons and 'yellowboys' that the filibusters brought back from their trips to sea, vanish into thin air.

A Romantic Idea of one of Morgan's Debauches.

They were often mistress-wives who, when necessary, knew how to handle a musket. The filibuster Laurent de Graff, for example, had married one of these valiant pioneers, the widow of another very well known adventurer, Pierre le Long. She was a Breton woman who answered to the singular and decidedly *maritime* name of Anne Dieu le Veut. This is how she came to marry Laurent de Graff. By remarks he made in some tavern at French Cape, Laurent de Graff insulted her. Anne Dieu le Veut with a pistol in her hand went straight to find him and demanded public amends. The filibuster, filled with admiration for so bold a gesture, proposed that he should marry her by way of apology.

Taken prisoner by the Spaniards, she was treated by them with the utmost severity as the wife of an implacable corsair, and it was not until several years after, upon the repeated request of Pontchartrain, the Minister of the Navy, that Mme Laurent de Graff recovered her freedom.

Certain women were not afraid to become filibusters themselves,

Mary Read blows out the brains of the sailor who had insulted her. (Lithograph of the romantic period.)

and the chronicles of the *Coast,* tell us of two such English adventuresses, Mary Read and Anne Bonny.

Mary Read.

Mary Read was a Londoner, whom her mother, for reasons of her own, had brought up as a boy until she was fifteen years old. She had taken a post as valet with a noble lord. But he had a stay-at-home nature, was content to live as a gentlemen farmer, and Mary Read, whose adventurous tastes drove her to a more active type of life, abandoned her master

and still passing for a young man, entered the Royal Navy. But discipline weighed heavily upon her and she deserted, — to enlist in a regiment fighting in Flanders. She took part in several battles, but, as it was a regiment of foot, Mary Read deserted, this time to enlist in the Flemish cavalry of the Prince of Orange. She became the bed mate of a handsome horseman, who had, none the less, to propose marriage to her to attain

HOWELL-DAVIS.

One of the most famous English Filibusters. (From a lithograph.)

his ends. Mary Read knew what she was about. The event caused some excitement in the army, and the officers collected enough money to enable the soldier lover to *buy himself out.* With what remained of the collection the married pair were able to open a *hostelry* under the sign of *Mars the Lover,* which was well patronised by the soldiers. Alas, the peace of Ryswick disbanded the troops and took away her customers. One fine morning, Mary Read left behind her the *Hostelry of Mars the Lover* and her

husband, and embarked as apprentice pilot on a ship of the Dutch East India Company.

The Dutch ship was off New Haven when she was captured by English filibusters, among whom Mary Read quickly enrolled herself. And Mary Read, dressed as one of the Brothers of the Coast, led the life of a pirate, not without occasional incidents due to suspicions that certain individuals had entertained concerning her sex. A quartermaster having grievously insulted her, she compelled him, in accordance with the law of the Coast, to fight a duel. Sabres having given no definite result, pistols were drawn from the belt. The quartermaster missed, and Mary, pulling aside her clothes, bared her breast and cried to her opponent : *You thought me a woman and struck me on the cheek! Well! It is in truth a woman to-day who kills you that she may teach others to respect her.* And pulling the trigger, she blew the quartermaster's head to pieces.

Anne Bonny.

Anne Bonny was an Irish girl, the illegitimate daughter of a Quaker in domestic service in the Islands. A young sailor ran off with her and took her to Providence Island where she met Rackham, an English filibuster celebrated in the world of the corsairs. He, together with Anne Bonny, for many years sailed over the Caribbean seas until one day a Spanish fleet captured him. The Spaniards decided to hang him summarily from the trysail of the corsair vessel which was now their prize, but he was permitted one last embrace. The only remark which Anne Bonny would address to the condemned man was : *You fought like a coward, otherwise you would not be brought so low as to hang like a dog.* She was found to be with child, and after a few months in prison, was pardoned. Nobody knows how she ended her days.

Coast Artillery at the time of Louis XIV. (From Marbot.)

THE CHEVALIER DE GRAMONT

The Chevalier de Gramont (1) was born at Paris in the reign of Louis XIII. His father served in the Guards, but died very young. Mme de Gramont, who if not a merry widow, was at least ready enough to welcome consolation, received many officers at her house, and several of these paid court to Mlle de Gramont. It happened that an officer married the young widow, and one of the friends whom he had introduced to the house in the Marais, fell in love with the young daughter. But the Chevalier de Gramont, who considered the officer not sufficiently well born, endeavoured to send him about his business. The officer persisted in visiting the house, and one day when his stepfather was absent, de Gramont spoke rudely to the lover, and calling the lacqueys to his assistance, took it upon himself to put the visitor outside. This episode did not pass without some scandal. The two ladies appeared on the great staircase which led to the street, on the steps of which the gentlemens' spurs were making a great clatter. Their appearance restrained the young men, and both mother and daughter treated the Chevalier as a child. The officer was invited to go up ; he was favoured with profuse apologies and gracious smiles ; swift flutterings of the fan made him forget what had happened and the bitter remarks of the son The latter had to go downstairs, but not without a few very cutting words to the officer who pretended not to hear them.

The next day, chance would have it that the officer should meet the Chevalier de Gramont. Remembering the threats which the young man had uttered, he treated him as *a small boy who was putting on airs.* The Chevalier promptly replied that if *he were a little older he would do him the honour of drawing sword against him.* When the officer continued to make fun of him, de Gramont snatched up a sword which was in a corner of the room, and putting himself on guard, urged his opponent to defend himself if he did not wish *to be killed like a dog.* The officer was obliged

(1) Also written Grammont.

to draw his sword and the steel crossed. The Chevalier rushed upon his enemy, who, for his part, not wishing to wound his beauty's brother, did no more than ward off the attack. De Gramont, wild with rage, twice wounded the officer. The latter, blinded by the blood, failed to turn aside one point, and fell, wounded a third time. Lacqueys, who came when they heard the noise, could do no more than carry the officer to his home ; a surgeon, summoned in haste, strove in vain to save his life. He lived for two days, during which he had sent to the Chevalier de Gramont a sum of money sufficient *to enable him to escape.* Then having called some suitably qualified lawyer, he dictated to him a will by the terms whereof Mlle de Gramont inherited ten thousand livres.

After a duel de Gramont is compelled to enlist.

As may be imagined, this duel made a stir both at the court and in the town. The King heard about it and sent the Major of the Guards, M. de Castellan, to bear his best wishes to the wounded man and to make inquiries into the circumstances of the affair. The dying man *gave M. de Castellan to understand that it was he himself who had provoked the unhappy business, and that although an assassination had been committed on his person, yet the affair had been honourably conducted.* This noble declaration, together with the credit which the Chevalier's family enjoyed at court, were sufficient to stop the prosecution of the Chevalier. But after such a scandal it was thought better to send him away from Paris, and he was given a commission as cadet in the Royal Marines. It was in this way that M. de Gramont came to enter M. de la Leuretière's company.

De Gramont sailed with the King's ships for several years and gained distinction. In consideration of his services, he was given command of a frigate armed as a privateer. On board this vessel, he sailed about Martinique, capturing a Dutch convoy coming back from the Islands, burdened with a cargo *worth more than four hundred thousand livres.* The prize was taken to French Cape at Saint Domingo, and de Gramont received his share, a fifth of the spoil. Eight days afterwards, the captain had to go to sea again, *having lost everything at play and in bad houses.*

De Gramont becomes a corsair captain.

The second voyage of Captain de Gramont was not lucky ; a storm drove his frigate on the reefs, and she broke up. Gathering together his last few crowns, the Chevalier then bought for himself a vessel of 50 guns and fitted it out at Turtle Island. De Gramont had become

a corsair captain. *Grace, generosity, eloquence, a sense of justice and a distinguished courage soon caused him to be regarded as the chief of the filibusters.* So he had no difficulty in finding the necessary crews for his ships : all the Brothers of the Coast were anxious to sail with him.

At the beginning of 1678, de Gramont collected a small fleet with about seven hundred able bodied men, and set out from Turtle Island

LE CHEVALIER DE GRAMONT

to attack the town of Macaraibo. In a few hours the little maritime city fell into the hands of the corsairs. The inhabitants had fled with all their riches to the interior and had reached the fortified post of Torilha. The filibusters decided to pursue them there. Frigate and fly-boats had to be left in a creek in the lake of Maracaibo, and a long journey had to be made through the American forest. It is not an easy matter for six hundred men to go over hills and valleys where Nature is hostile, and it was only after severe hardships, after crossing pestilential marshes, and tremendous rivers, plying their sabres, that our filibusters arrived before the walls of Torilha.

A short assault made them masters of the little town and the pillage began, but there, as at Macaraibo, the Spaniards had fled, leaving nothing in their stores but bales of wool, hides and tobacco. De Gramont, not daring to penetrate more deeply into the Brazilian hinterland, had to return to the coast. At Macaraibo they re-embarked for Turtle Island, but now their numbers were small indeed. So greatly had sickness decimated the troop that out of the seven hundred filibusters who had left Saint Domingo. hardly forty returned to the port of departure.

Some months afterwards, de Gramont who had made up his mind to work with fewer effectives, left the Turtle with his frigate of 50 guns and a patache of 152, with, in all a hundred and eighty Brothers of the Coast, to ravage the shores of Cumana. By a sudden bold attack in the darkness, de Gramont captured the two forts of Puerto-Cavallo ; the ramparts were scaled, the guards surprised and massacred, the guns spiked, the town pillaged, and all in one night. The forty filibusters for several hours held the enemy advance guard of seven hundred Spaniards until their comrades had had sufficient time to put their booty and their prisoners on board ship. De Gramont, always to the fore, was seriously wounded in the neck by a pistol shot. The frigate and the patache succeeded in getting to sea, and cast anchor in the bay of Gouva, where they experienced a terrible hurricane in which the patache with its 152 guns, its crew and its prisoners, sank.

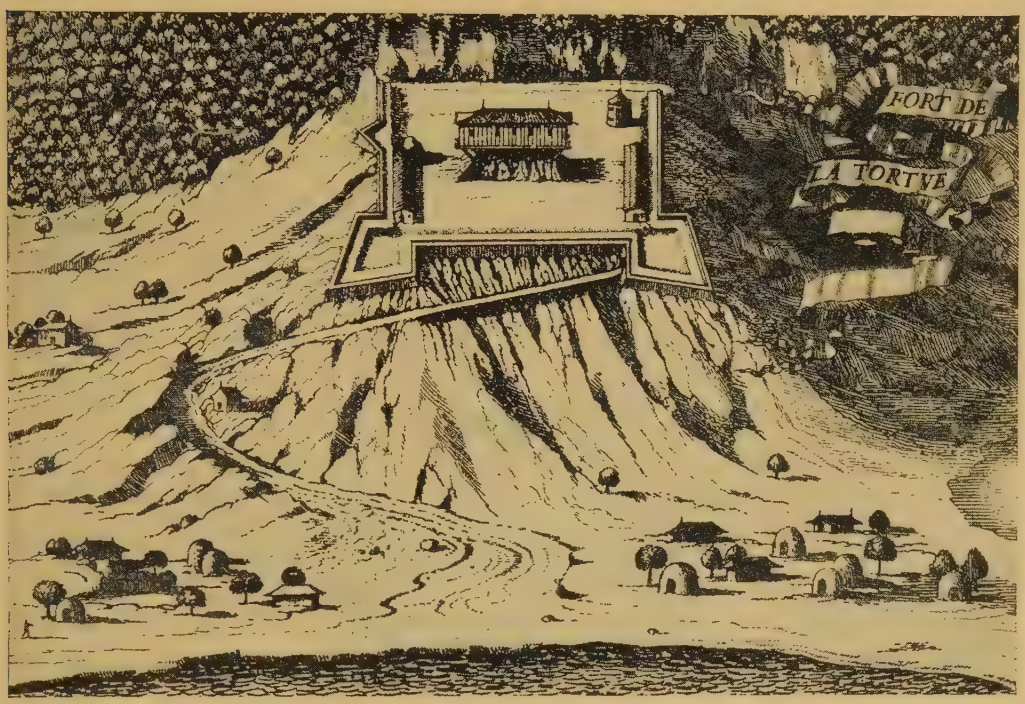
Half dismasted, the frigate alone returned to its fold, with de Gramont on board still suffering from his serious wound. Strolling around the harbour of the Turtle during his convalescence, the Chevalier formed a friendship with the Dutch filibuster Van Horn, an illustration this of the brotherhood of the Coast, and with Laurent de Graff, who also came from the Netherlands.

Such a trio was capable of carrying through the wildest enterprises, and its formation is sufficient explanation of the decision taken by the filibusters in 1769, to capture Vera Cruz.

The capture of Vera-Cruz.

It was a difficult undertaking. Vera Cruz had a garrison of three thousand men, a well armed fortress, that of San Juan, and, if necessary, could call upon its hinterland for forces to the extent of ten thousand men. The undertaking could only succeed if the element of surprise were main-

tained. The Brothers of the Coast took an oath not to divulge the secret. De Gramont, Van Horn and Laurent de Graff had no difficulty in getting together twelve hundred filibusters and apportioning them among four ships. The little fleet reached the waters of Vera Cruz in a few days, and to avoid causing alarm, only two ships, flying the Spanish flag, approa-



The Filibusters' main centre : the Fortress.

ched the town. Instead of entering the harbour, however, they fired broadsides. This seeming suspicious to certain Vera-Crucians, the governor, Don Luiz de Cordova, was informed of the presence of the vessels. He reassured the fearful, saying that the ships were Spanish, but that the state of the tide prevented them from coming in. Night fell.

During the night, the two other filibuster ships joined their companions, and they anchored two leagues distance from the town. A party of eight hundred men was landed and formed into two columns. The first, under the command of de Gramont, marched upon the town, and,

at the first appearance of dawn, overpowered the guard, seized the keys and set off through the streets. The Spaniards were taken by surprise and had no time to sound the alarm ; the troops, shut up in barracks, were taken prisoners in a few moments, and such sporadic resistance as did arise was easily dealt with by a few musket shots. The second detachment, with the eager Laurent de Graff in command, was entrusted with the task of securing the fort of San Juan. The filibusters, who were athletes as well as pirates, quickly climbed the outer defences with the help of grappling irons : the sentinels were killed on the spot, and the batteries turned upon the town. The pillage began amidst cries and scufflings. Some of the Spanish soldiers having succeeded in raising an alarm in the outer districts, troops of militia tried to enter the town, but they were literally mown down by the batteries of Fort San Juan and the guns of the corsair fleet.

The filibusters, now masters of the field, rolled casks of powder into the houses near the barracks which they had surrounded, and frightful explosions soon marked the work of destruction which the security of their brigandage demanded. While some of them finished off with musket shots the unfortunate soldiers whom these volcanoes had spared, others, according to their usual custom, dragged the captured inhabitants to the largest of the churches, which they surrounded with brushwood so that they could set it alight at the first sign of revolt. A Spanish priest was ordered to go into the pulpit and explain to the prisoners *that the filibusters wished neither their liberty nor their lives, that all they desired was money. Since liberty and life are more precious than money, they had better give quickly if they cared about their lives.*

This discourse was punctuated by the rolling of barrels which the Brothers of the Coast were bringing up *to blow up the recalcitrant.* Without hesitation, two hundred thousand crowns were produced. The bishop, who was temporarily set at liberty to make a collection in the countryside, brought back two million piasters. According to the surgeon Esquemeling, the pillage produced nearly sixty millions in jewels, ingots of gold and silver, ornaments and things of different kinds. The filibusters were millionaires all of a sudden. Their takings would have been still further increased had not the coming of seventeen Spanish ships been announced. Laurent,

Van Horn and de Gramont hastily reembarked their followers, and sail was set.

In spite of the extremely strict regulations of the Custom of the Coast upon the division of prizes, this became the subject of a dispute between Laurent and Van Horn, and as, before returning to the Turtle, the squadron had anchored near Cape Catoche, in the province of Yucatan, to

repair a little of the disorder that had naturally occurred, there was a duel between the two leaders. Van Horn was wounded in the arm, and a month later, died of gangrene. De Gramont assumed command of the fleet, but the filibusters refused to follow him. They prefered Laurent de Graff, whose manners were less haughty. The Chevalier was obliged to sail away upon his frigate with the few faithful who clung to him, and made for Jamaica, where in a day or two, all the crowns and all the piasters that had been taken at Vera Cruz, were left in the hands of tavern keepers and courtesans. Of the other ships, two were utterly destroyed with both men and wealth in a cyclone, and the third was captured by the Spaniards who hanged both crew and officers without any ado.

On his return to Petit Goyave, de Gramont was fêted by everybody and promoted to be the indisputed leader of the filibusters of the Caribbean sea. But, by keeping open house, by playing « lansquenet » and « passe-debout », the *savings* which the Chevalier had amassed in the course of his career, rapidly melted away in the tropic sun. It became necessary to organise a new expedition. In the taverns of Turtle Island and Saint Domingo, there was great talk of the wealth of the Ame ican Carthagena. Imaginations were stirred upon the subiect, and de Gramont was pressed to attempt the capture of this town. The filibuster leader agreed to take command in this enterprise which called for a thousand men. It was decided that they should get their hands in by taking the little maritime town of Campeachy. This « night operation » consisted in casting anchor, launching twenty-two small boats with nine hundred filibusters, armed to the teeth, and, *in absolute silence,* bringing this flotilla beneath the very walls of the town. The sun had already been shining for so e time when the boats reached the harbour and waited there motionless. The Spaniards could not have dreamed that *anvone would attempt to attack a place that they had fortified in a manner to withstand any surprise attack, in full daylight and in ordinary ships' boats.* It was nine o'clock in the morning when de Gramont, who was on board one of the boats, gave the order to land. Deliberately, the Brothers of the Coast disembarked, formed a column and began their march.

The capture of Campeachy.

A hildago frigate which happened to be in the harbour thought it worth while to fire a blank shot by way of admonition, but the Chevalier's little army paying no attention to this, she turned upon her anchor and fired a broadside from her lower batteries. By an extraordinary chance, a lighted match fell into the frigate's magazine ; she caught fire, and a few moments later, frigate, crew, guns and all, blew up amid a frightful column of acrid smoke Panic spread through the town ; the citizens ran to arms, crying that the filibusters had brought infernal machines with them, and that the twenty-two long boats were so many fire-ships. Two battalions hurriedly left the ramparts and ambushed themselves in a sunken road through which the filibusters would have to pass. The advance guard of the assailants came under a tremendous fire, fortunately badly aimed, and there was a moment's indecision. The filibusters, who

would have none but hand to hand fighting, dashed forward, and impetuously pushed the Spaniards back. They gave way, and, the filibusters with them, passed again into the town. The townsmen had had time enough to make barricades. Furniture, carts, stones and doors torn from their fastenings, provided impassable obstacles, and from them was poured

VUE DE LA VILLE DE JÉRÉMIE.

Ville haute. *Ville basse.* *Isle S.t Domingue.* *Pointe de Jérémie.* *Batterie*

A.P.D.R.

a very heavy fire with both artillery and muskets. De Gramont saw the peril, and threw his men into the first houses he came upon. Mounted on the terraced roofs, the filibusters shot down the defenders of the barricades.

In an instant, the corsairs had succeeded in climbing up the roofs, hiding behind the shutters, and opening fire upon the soldiers and the gunners. Under the hail of fire, the defenders of the barricades protecting the main street of Campeachy were obliged to give way. De Gramont himself, with a hundred brave fellows behind him, scaled the obstacle, captured the guns and turned them against the Spaniards. The place was then virtually taken : a few hand to hand combats being sufficient to enable the filibusters to gain the mastery of the other strongholds. House

doors smashed open with hatchets, opened to them, and racing from roof to roof, they massacred the citizens in the narrow alleyways and patios. In three hours, de Gramont had made himself master of the town, and the notables implored him to put a stop to the bloodshed.

But the principal fort still held out. It was a strong fortress with twenty-four guns, defended by a garrison of four hundred men. De Gramont had to lay formal siege to it, *after giving his merry men three days of rest and pillage*. The corsair fleet having been moored in the roads to protect the shore, several batteries were disembarked, and for nine long hours the walls of the citadel were bombarded. Six hundred filibusters, perched on neighbouring steeples and housetops, never ceased to put straight even the most insignificant Spanish hat that appeared at the smallest embrasure. But, in spite of all the shots that were fired, the walls of the citadel showed not the slightest breach. The filibusters grew impatient ; ammunition was getting short, and de Gramont was just about to give signal to storm, when he learned that the garrison had determined to leave the fort during the night. Fearing a ruse, de Gramont decided to postpone the storming of the citadel until the following morning. At dawn, the batteries once again began their bombardment, but the citadel was dumb. Scouts were sent forward, and they were able to enter the fort, now emptied of its defenders, without opposition.

In one of the redoubts, two men, alone, sought to stem the flood of filibusters. They were a young Spanish officer who had resolved never to surrender so long as he drew breath, and an artilleryman, *English by nation*. De Gramont who hated the « goddams », ordered the artillery man's head to be struck off, and the hidalgo officer to be given his sword and his freedom, considering it due to render public hommage to his valour.

The filibusters remained at Campeachy two months, living as one might expect. The Spanish authorities who had collected troops, drew near to deliver the town and captured a detachment of filibusters which which was foraging some distance from the ramparts. De Gramont, who was much disturbed by this capture, proposed to the hidalgo governor who was in charge of the operations, to exchange his prisoners for all the inhabitants of Campeachy, whom the filibusters had shut up in the

port. The governor rejected the offer, declaring that *Spain was rich enough in men and in treasure to rebuild and re-people Campeachy*. This reply was hardly to the liking of the Chevalier de Gramont, who was very ticklish on points of honour, so he had the heads of five notables cut off, set fire to the town and sent the governor's messenger back again. When the governor proffered further threats against the corsairs, they pulled down all the fortifications, blew up the fort, and as all this happened on Saint Louis's day, made an enormous bonfire of precious furniture *in honour of the great king*. Campeachy was now no more than a heap of ashes, but de Gramont in view of the presence of the Spanish forces, did not venture to push forward to Merida, and set sail again for the harbour of Petit-Goyave. The fleet reached Saint Domingo at the beginning of September, 1685.

The governor of Turtle Island, M. de Cussy, who was anxious to secure the services of so courageous a man to aid him in the satisfactory completion of the colonisation of Saint Domingo, procured for the Chevalier de Gramont a brevet as a Lieutenant of the King, and entrusted to him the administration of one of the districts of the youthful colony. No better choice could have been made than that of a leader like de Gramont to lead into the ways of normal life a population made up, for the most part, of *settlers* who had once been filibusters. And Versailles recognised this perfectly well.

The Chevalier de Gramont using the sabre at the capture of Campeachy. (Lithograph.)

NAU L'OLONNAIS

The filibuster known as the l'Olonnais, whose real name was Nau, was the son of a small tradesman at Sables d'Olonne. More often than not, he had played truant in his youth, and his disappearances had often lasted for several days. It is not surprising that a settler in Martinique who came across the young fellow wandering around the harbour of La Rochelle, watching keenly the loading and unloading of ships that came from the Islands, found a ready response to his suggestion of a trip thereto as a hired man.

Nau l'Olonnais "hired" by a Martinique Settler.

So Nau of Olonne set out for the West Indies, having signed an engagement for three years. He had a rough time, for his master was brutal and often plied the stick. The young man found such slavery exceedingly hard to bear, and when he met with some buccaneers of Saint Domingo who had come to Martinique to sell the skins that they had tanned, he fell in love with their independent life and *deserted*, setting out for Hispaniola with them. But the leader of the party threw him into the hold of his wretched fly-boat and threatened Nau with death if he refused to remain with him simply as a servant.

For months, Nau of Olonne was compelled to put up with the most cruel treatment. Buried in a wild corner of Saint Domingo ; not daring

to run away for fear of being shot by the Spaniards, who gave no quarter to the buccaneers, he had to work day after day cutting up the buffaloes, skinning them, and carrying to the shore the prepared skins which were then loaded upon Dutch vessels.

Blows with the stick and with the flat of a sabre continued to rain upon the young man's shoulders. He was compelled to run after his master, borne down by bags of food and gunpowder or bent beneath the weight of the game, whenever his master went hunting. So hard a life soon exhausted the young man and it was not long before he had an attack of fever. One day, shivering under a violent attack, Nau of Olonne was not well enough to go with his master. The latter, mad with rage, struck him upon the head with the butt of a musket and stretched him out half dead. Then, leaving his servant where he lay, the buccaneer rejoined his comrades, saying that Nau had run away.

Nau saved by a dog.

When he came to himself, the servant dragged himself painfully to the woods, with no other friend to help him but one of the buccaneer's dogs. This good beast fetched for him some young wild boars, and on these he fed, *without even cooking them*. For several months, Nau led the life of a Crusoe. It was a real man of the woods whom a party of buccaneers came upon by chance. They took compassion upon the unfortunate fellow whose only society, for many long days, had been that of three dogs and two tamed wild boars. The first thing they had to teach him was to eat cooked meat.

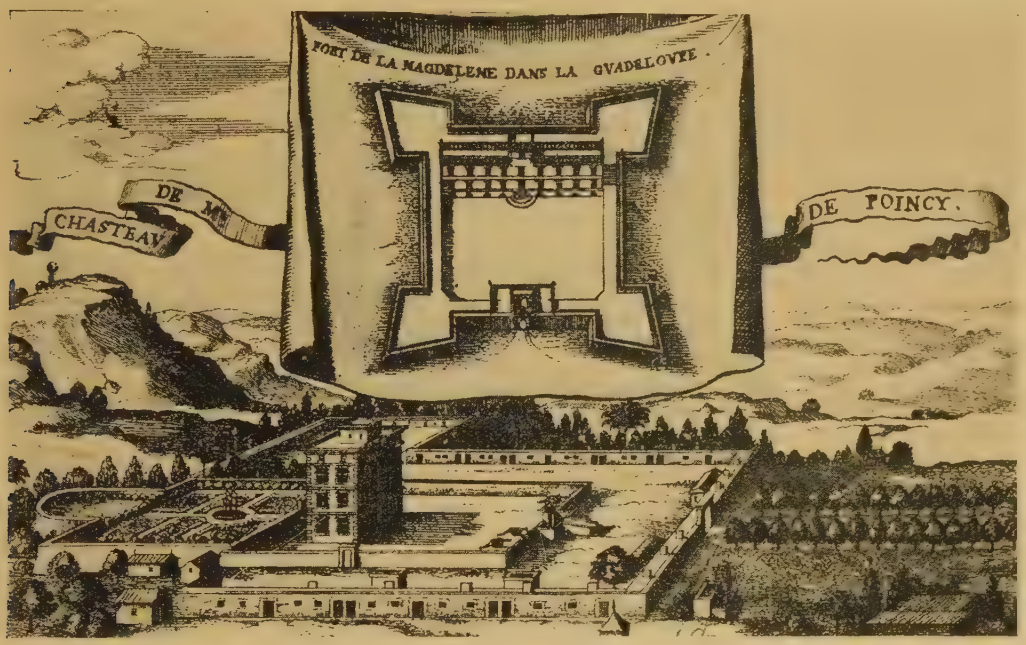
Nau of Olonne was admitted to their company and pronounced a buccaneer. Soon he showed himself to be one of the most successful hunters among them. But he tired of a mode of existence that seemed to him dull and monotonous, and, still in love with adventure, decided to find other fields of action more promising than the savannahs of Saint Domingo and the massacring of buffaloes. He got into touch with some filibusters. They thought well of him as a *beginner*, and invited him to join them at Turtle Island, the filibusters' headquarters.

Before leaving Saint Domingo, Nau had one duty to fulfil : to avenge himself for the harshness of his ex-master the buccaneer. The evening of his departure, before going on board the sloop that was to take him to

the Turtle, he made his way into the *buccan* (1) of his former master, and with a terrible blow with a boarding axe, scattered the man's brains. Then, with the utmost calmness, he rejoined the Brothers of the Coast.

Nau quickly made himself renowned amid this band of adventurers, and even succeeded in persuading the King's governor at the Turtle, M. de la Place, to entrust to his command a little *fly-boat* furnished from

Nau l'Olonais becomes a filibuster.



The residence of the Sieur de Poincy, Governor-General of the West Indies (1673).

the governor's private purse. In a few months he took several important prizes, but showing himself to be almost too bold, lost two ships in succession.

Setting out again with a new ship and a new crew, he was cast by a tempest on the coast of Campeachy, where his ship went to pi ces, and his crew were massacred by the soldiers of the Viceroy of Spain. He hims lf escaped only by feigning death. When the Spaniards had gone away, Nau, stripping the soldiers who had been left upon the field, disguised

(1) The huts which the buffalo hunters built for themselves at Saint Domingo were known as " buccans ".

himself as a hidalgo and went into Campeachy, where he succeeded in gathering around him a few slaves, whom he declared free, and filibusters. Then, after fitting out an old hulk that he found in the harbour, he set off with his new sailors for Turtle Island. It is not difficult to imagine the esteem which this exploit secured him from the Brothers of the Coast.

Hardly had Nau returned, than he made ready a new expedition, aimed at Bocca de Caravelas, a little maritime centre in the island of Cuba. At this place were concentrated the cargoes of hides, tobacco and sugar before being sent to Havana. But he had not sufficient financial resources to arm a vessel of any size, whether frigate, fly-boat or patache, and it was with a small barque and twenty-one Brothers of the Coast that he made up his mind to venture this attack.

The adventurers had only just reached Cuban waters when they were seen by some fishermen who gave the alarm. The filibusters seized a fishing boat, but thought it wise, since their presence had been made known, to spend two months in hiding on a desert island. Boredom and shortness of supplies obliged them to come out of their hiding place, but not without fear, for they knew that the governor of Havana had just armed a frigate of the line, and given orders that the filibusters were to be exterminated. Four brigantines accompanied the frigate.

Nau of Olonne, in danger of being caught in a trap, decided that he must stake everything on one desperate throw, and brought his two barques from the islet in the hope of reaching the estuary of a little river, the Effara, where the frigate lay at anchor. Rowing silently, in the cover of the tropical foliage along the banks, the filibusters landed on either side of the vessel. They dragged their barques on land, set them on end, and made a breastwork of wood and leaves. When the sun was just about to rise, the frigate raised anchor, and moving in the direction of the island that the pirates had just quitted, passed slowly before the ambuscade. Suddenly, a vigorous fire was opened from the shore which brought down a number of Spanish sailors who were busy about the decks. The bugles sounded « To Arms! » and the batteries raked the bush with their fire, but haphazardly. The struggle began. Nau only allowed his men to fire when their aim was certain ; every shot found its mark, while the

bullets from the frigate hit mangoes and cocoanut palms, but did not touch a single filibuster.

This unequal duel lasted all the morning, and about noon, Nau, deciding that the Spanish crew must now be considerably weakened, launched his barque, threw himself with ten men or so into it and made fast to the prow. In spite of the Spaniards' defence, the filibusters succeeded

" The Buccaneers ". (Engraving by Philippoteau, Romantic period.)

in taking possession of the poop, and pushing forward, ended by making themselves masters of the whole of the upper deck, throwing the remaining soldiers into the hold. Nau, having learned from one of the prisoners that the governor of Havana had ordered that all the filibusters should be hanged, had all his captives brought out again, and massacred them on the spot.

A few hours afterwards, Nau, become the captain of a frigate, presented himself before the port of Puerto del Principo, where the four Spanish brigantines were waiting, and, although he had only twenty men with him, sank these vessels with the frigate's guns. Then, crowding sail, the

filibuster vanished over the horizon towards the Turtle, where he proudly anchored, the owner of a well built, handsome ship.

One of Nau's friends was Michel the Basque, one of the most famous filibusters of the Turtle. The pair made up their minds, in spite of Michel's disinclination, — he was on the point of retiring to the country near Ramuntcho, there to enjoy a well earned rest —, to undertake an expedition of some importance, not in the West Indies themselves, but on the coast of America, at Maracaibo.

The filibusters gathered at the Turtle, as was the custom of the Coast, to the number of nearly four hundred men : five ships had been brought together, among them the Spanish frigate which Nau had captured. It had now become his flag-ship. As an appetizer, the filibusters, as soon as they left the harbour, captured two ships, one loaded with provisions, the other with powder. The first ship was dispatched to the governor of the Turtle, M. d'Ogeron, who, graciously returned it with a crew of which his own nephews formed a part. Thenceforth, Nau had eight ships and nearly seven hundred men at his disposition.

Capture of Maracaibo.

The fleet then set out for the lake of Venezuela, on the shores of which Maracaibo stood. In 1666, its population was nearly four thousand, with a garrison of eight hundred soldiers. Convents, rich churches and fine houses adorned the town ; naval dockyards of considerable importance hummed with activity. The lake could be entered only by a narrow channel protected by two small islands, on one of which — the Isle of Wood-pigeons — was a fort. As soon as the filibuster squadron was sighted, this fort opened fire, but Nau and Michel the Basque, leaping into a boat with a few determined followers, landed on the Isle of Wood-pigeons, climbed the parapet of *demi-lunes,* sabred the gunners, and, in a few moments, captured the fourteen fire-ports of which the defence consisted. The squadron could then proceed ; the channel lay open, and while the ships anchored before Maracaibo, Nau spiked the guns and blew up the walls of the fortress.

In the town all was confusion and panic, and none could think of anything but flight, one fleeing to the small neighbouring town, Gibraltar, another making for the woods. A few hours later, the filibusters entered Maracaibo to find it empty of its inhabitants. The brothers of the Coast

took possession of the houses, treating the furniture and the contents of the wine cellars in a manner that may well be imagined. But, the next day, Nau of Olonne, like the prudent soldier he was, had the neighbouring woods beaten, and his scouts brought back with them sixty prisoners and fifty mules *laden with a sum amounting to a hundred thousand francs.* The prisoners were put to the *question,* so that information might be extrac-

The Island of Saint Domingo from French Cape.

ted from them about any possible hidden stores of gold in the town, but the heat of the fire beneath the soles of the prisoners' feet produced no result in kind, no satisfactory response, for the very good reason that the citizens of Maracaibo had taken everything away with them on their flight.

Capture of Gibraltar.

Nau, after pillaging the town, gave orders for the advance on Gibraltar. That town was administered by an old governor who had been in the Flanders wars, and had determined to offer resistance. He set men digging and raised defences, both on the sea front and on the country side, and the low lying ground was flooded. When the filibusters came face to face with a defensive system of this sort, they were almost panic stricken. Nau had to call a council of war in the cockpit of his ship, and there he vehemently upbraided the leaders, calling them cowards. The *admiral's* determination revived the morale of the attackers and they swore that they would either conquer or die. Nau immediately disembarked an attacking party of *three hundred and four Brothers of the Coast, each of whom had no other arms than a short sabre, two pistols and thirty cartridges.*

Once on the shore, they all exchanged greetings as *men who now must part for ever.* A prisoner endeavoured to act as their guide, but all the entries to the town were guarded and set in defence. The detachment fell into a marsh, stuck in the mud, and at that moment a battery of twenty guns enfiladed it. The ranks broke in disorder, some got caught in the morass, others were mown down by the grape-shot. Nau with a few brave fellows succeeded in crossing the zone of fire and reached the slope of the redoubt, but it was too steep and the *admiral* would have been killed there, if it had not suddenly occurred to him to pretend flight. The Spaniards came out of their entrenchments in pursuit, and then Nau, with ten or so Brothers of the Coast behind him, faced around and went at them with the sword. There was a bloody struggle in which the artillery did not dare to intervene. The troops, attack and defence intermingled, entered the battery. From that moment the town was lost. The filibusters, once more attacking, killed more than five hundred soldiers and put Gibraltar to fire and sword. The prisoners were brought together in the cathedral; the women given over to the good pleasure of the victors, and, for a whole month, the town was subjected to a systematic sacking which emptied it of all its wealth.

Nau of Olonne, his appetite sharpened by success, now that he had captured Maracaibo and Gibraltar, wished to push on to the fortified settlement of Merida, a veritable storehouse of the Spaniards in those parts. It was situated in the mountains. But he had not reckoned with the possibilities of sickness, and this soon broke out in the pillaged city. Dead and wounded encumbered the streets and houses, and no one ever dreamed of taking the most elementary precautions. Gangrene — for this it would seem to have been, judging by the accounts given by authors like Esquemeling and Father Charlevoix — was very soon the cause of frightful hecatombs, and prisoners and corsairs alike were stricken by fever, so that the place captured at so great a cost had perforce to be abandoned.

The filibusters demanded twenty thousand piastres more from the unfortunate people imprisoned in the principal church, threatening to burn down the whole town, and, indeed, the flames had already consumed a great part of it when the money was paid.

The squadron first made for Maracaibo, whither the inhabitants

had been foolish enough to return. There, by a threat to sack the town anew, Nau obtained a further tribute of twenty-five thousand piastres, and provisions for his journey home. This did not prevent the Brothers of the Coast from adequately disencumbering the churches and convents of their wealth. Ornaments, sacred vessels, pictures and bells were all seized and loaded into the ships. Michel the Basque explained to the

" Costumes worn by Slaves and Freed-women in the Colonies. "

alcalde that this part of the booty would serve for the building of a splendid church at Turtle Island to be dedicated to Our Lady of Victories.

The squadron then sailed for Cow Island off the Southern coast of Saint Domingo. There, the two hundred thousand piastres were shared out in lots which, in accordance with the Custom of the Coast, included those of the dead. These were handed over to the dead man's *matelot* (1), or to his people. No dispute arose, and it was with well filled pockets that the filibusters who had sailed with Nau of Olonne and Michel the Basque entered the harbour of the Tortoise.

Nau's last expedition.

But as the proverb says : «Easy come, easy go», the Brothers of the Coast did not keep their fortune for long. Two ships from Bordeaux had

(1) i. e. the comrade with whom he had " paired ".

just reached the colony, and the shopkeepers on the island were able to profit by the opportunity to such effect that in less than six weeks the filibusters' purses were empty, so many were their purchases. The trader vanquished the filibuster.

Nau himself, to whom the lion's share had fallen, had gambled so heavily in the different taverns, given so many feasts and played the fool so merrily that nothing remained to him beyond his spotted old felt hat, his sword and a couple of pistols.

The filibusters, now without a sou, once more began to think of setting out again under Nau's command. It was decided to attack all the Spanish towns on the shores of the Lake of Nicaragua, but contrary winds and storms forced the squadron into the gulf of Honduras. The only important town in this neighbourhood was Puerto-Cavallo. The city turned out to be almost devoid of wealth, and out of spite, all the inhabitants were tortured and massacred. Nau then resolved to make for San Pedro by land, but his progress was impeded by a number of ambuscades which necessitated some terrible hand-to-hand struggles. When they reached the town, the filibusters found themselves faced by a strong redoubt which had to be taken by storm. The boarding axe played the deciding part, and the filibusters entered San Pedro. Few precious things were found there, but there was indigo worth forty thousand crowns. But heavy, burdensome bales were of no account to the Brothers of the Coast, and they contented themselves with setting fire to the four corners of the town.

The squadron then leaving this part of the world, took up its moorings in the mouth of the Guatemala river, with the intention of capturing the Spanish transport, known as *la Hourque,* which, every year, brought iron and cloth to the gulf of Honduras, and there took in exchange all the rich products which found their way to the harbours of Guatemala, thence to be carried to Spain. But the Spanish authorities were on the watch and ordered the captain of *la Hourque* not to sail. The filibusters grew tired of waiting and determined to capture *la Hourque* despite its batteries of fifty-six guns. This they did, but they found in the hold nothing but twenty thousand reams of paper, a hundred tons of iron which served as ballast, and a few bales of linen and cloth. The Brothers of the Coast

considered such a capture utterly unworthy of their efforts, began to grumble and clamoured for an immediate return to the Turtle. The malcontents rallied around Moyse Vauclin and he, with the greater number of the filibusters, set off one moonless night, taking the *Hourque* with him. Picard, another of Nau's companions, also left him. Vauclin never reached Saint Domingo ; his ship piled up upon a rock.

Nau of Olonne, left with three hundred filibusters in a wretched fly-boat, had to stay close to the shore so that, from time to time he could land to procure supplies, He finally stopped at the little island of Las Perlas, near Cape Gracias Deo. There the adventurers became colonists, building huts, clearing plantations and hunting. At the same time, they built a great decked barque. But hardly was it ready to leave for Turtle Island when a Spanish detachment attacked it in the Saint-Jean river, and Nau was only able to escape by rowing away as hard as he could. During this fight, four hundred and fifty men were killed.

A few days later, Nau brought his barque to a cove in the gulf of Darien and prepared to take on board supplies of water, but the filibusters had hardly reached the woods when they were attacked by Indians, and Nau was wounded. Prisoners and wounded were dragged to the Indian village where, after prolonged tortures, the Caribs devoured them tooth and nail. Only five men were able to escape and rejoin the barque. The survivors then sailed away. They were lucky enough to meet a corsair ship which took them on board. So was made known the tragic fate of Nau of Olonne.

DESCRIPTION GENERALE
DE
LAMERIQVE
TROISIESME PARTIE DV MONDE
AVEC TOVS SES EMPIRES,
ROYAVMES ESTATS, ET
REPVBLIQVES.

Où sont deduits & traictez par ordre leurs Noms, Assiette, Confins, Mœurs, Richesses, Forces, Gouuernement & Religion : Et la Genealogie des Empereurs, Roys, & Princes Souuerains, lesquels y ont dominé iusques à nostre temps.

Faicte par PIERRE D'AVITT *Seigneur de Montmartin, Gentilhomme ordinaire de la Chambre du Roy.*

A PARIS.
Chez LAVRENT COTTEREAV, ruë S. Iacques, au Mont-Carmel.

M. DC XLIII.

Auec Approbation & Priuilege du Roy

MEMOIRS OF RAVENAU DE LUSSAN

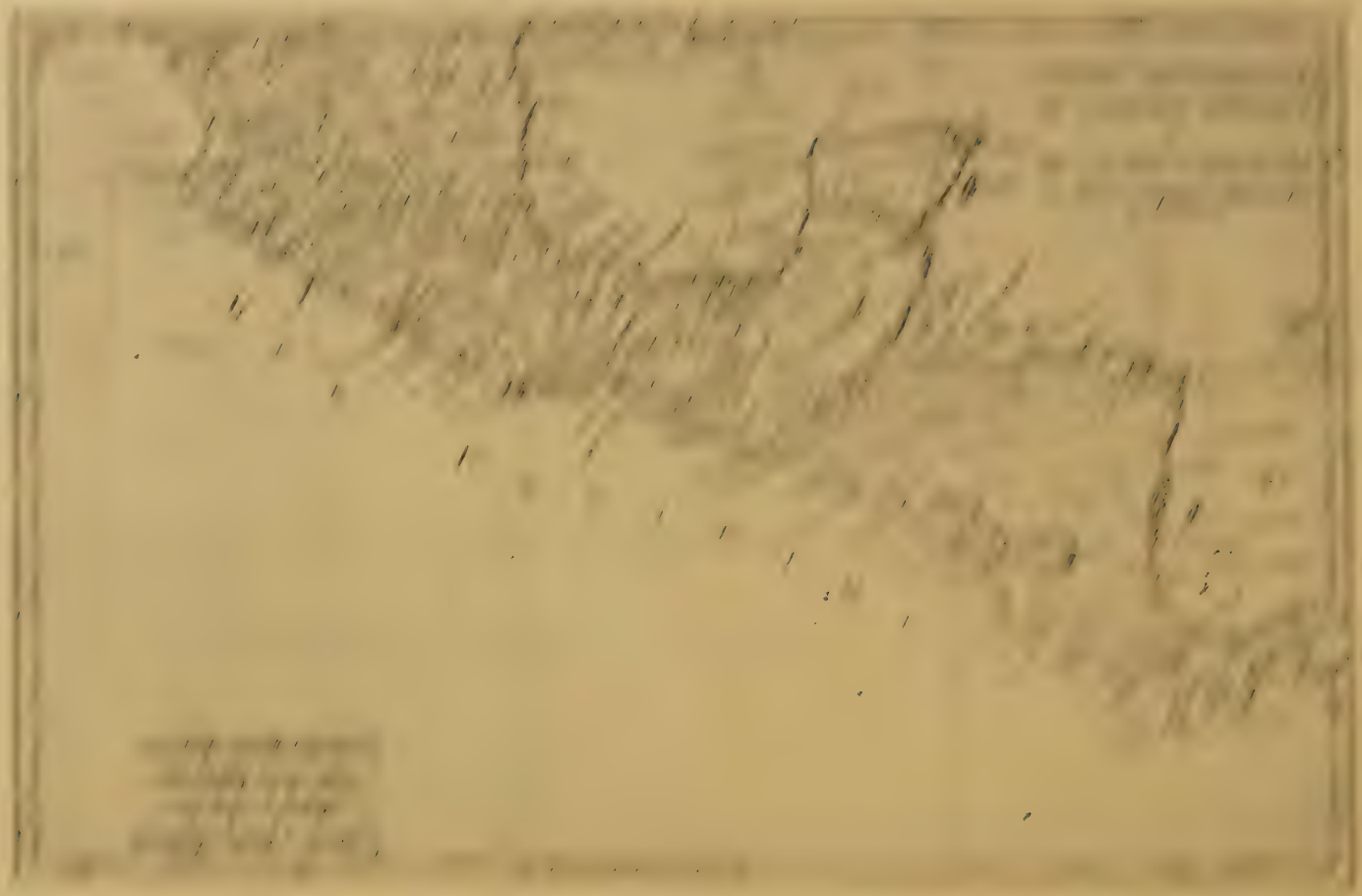
HIS

JOURNEY TO THE SOUTHERN SEA

WITH THE FILIBUSTERS OF AMERICA

1685 TO 1686

ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION
PUBLISHED AT PARIS IN THE YEAR MDCLXXXIX
BY THE AUTHOR HIMSELF



JOURNEY
TO THE SOUTHERN SEA
FROM 1685 TO 1686

Seldom indeed does it happen that one born in Paris sets forth to seek his fortune in far distant parts, and of deliberate intent, becomes an adventurer. That town, wherein are contained the greater part of all the marvels of the world (itself perhaps the greatest of them all), must, or so it seems, become the representative of all the earth. But who can say that he has entered into the secrets of nature, so that he may account for some of those inclinations wherewith she has endowed the human kind? For myself I own that I know not the depth of my desires, and all that I can say thereof is that I have always felt the violence of those which urge me towards travel. I was scarce seventeen years old, when first, impelled by impulses beyond my mastery, I sought to fly my parents' home. In truth my flights were not over long, for so my age and strength would not allow them to be; but for this they made up in frequency, and not seldom I put my parents to the trouble of coming to seek me in the outskirts of the city, or to La Villette. Little by little, as my stature warranted, I would soar higher, and soon grew used to losing Paris from sight.

To this disposition to wander, soon I joined another which I would not venture to call martial, though it made me long to [illegible] or battle. Never did I hear the sound of the drum in the streets without transports the very memory whereof thrills me still with warmth and joy. At last, as Fate would have it, I met an officer whom I knew but slightly, but whom my martial disposition inclined me to make a friend. I thought him a man who might be of service to me in my designs, and with that end I did my utmost to make the best of him. Fortunately, just about that time, there came the siege of Condé, and he was summoned to duty with his company. I made him the offer of a sword which, till that day, had done neither good nor ill to any, yet which most ardently I yearned to employ. It was then that I received the first proofs of his friendship for me. He took me with him gladly and kept me with him all that campaign. It ended, and I came back with him, in no wise wea[illegible]

of or repelled by war, as are most of those who have their first taste of it. This was my first essay.

The second did not reach an end so successful, though it was as much to my taste, and all that I had willed. I succeeded in getting myself a commission in the Navy, but I fell into the hands of a captain who had a marvellous skill in extracting money from young men of good family. So it came about that from a campaign which I had hoped to make in the King's service, there came naught but expense. To buy me out again my father spent more than he should, more indeed than I was worth, and set me free again to choose what I would do. This, perhaps, was not what he desired, but it was my desire, and I was not long in following it.

It would seem that God would not have had me weary of my chosen occupation, for this time he directed me as well as I had ill directed myself, before. M. le Comte d'Avegean, whose particular qualities distinguish him among the Guards, permitted me to serve with him and took me to the siege of Saint-Guillain, where I never tired in discovering new pleasures in the career of arms, however warm the situation in which I might find myself. This place cost the lives of many men without taking from me the desire to risk my own. My parents, who found my roving temper hard to bear, had trusted that the fatigues of war would rid me of it. They were deceived. No sooner did I set foot upon the streets of Paris than I was weary of being there.

My head was filled with thoughts of travel, and the longer and more perilous these travels were, the more attractive they seemed to me. To stay within the confines of one's native land, and not to know how the rest of the world is made, this I thought well enough for a woman. But I held that a man should not stay always in one place, and that no man could act in a manner more becoming him than by making the acquaintance of all his fellows. But to do so by land is a long and difficult business, and I believed that it would be sooner and more happily accomplished by sea. I then, was all ready to set sail. Only my parents, full of tenderness for a wayward son, endeavoured to turn me aside from my resolution (1).

(1) Ravenau de Lussan's parents seem to have belonged to a family of gentry. The French *Armorial* mentions a Gabriel Ravenau, notary at the Chatelet bearing arms " poutre d'azur aux clous d'or accompagné de trois roues d'argent, deux au chef et une au front ".

But the saying is as true of young men like me as it is of women, that what they will, God wills, and to tell the truth, I was utterly at the command of my desires. When my parents saw that to forbid me absolutely only confirmed me in my obstinacy, they proposed that I should make the voyage to Saint Domingo, where I should find friends and protection in case of need. As that plan fitted in precisely with my own ideas and desires,

The Galley Patronne. Reign of Louis XIII. (Engraving by Randon.)

and as I cared not where I went so long as I went somewhere, I obeyed with a good grace.

Dieppe was the place of my embarkation, and thence I set sail on the 5th of March in the year 1679, happier than I can say. That element against which travellers are for ever complaining, to me seemed the sweetest and most beautiful in the world, and, if I may say so, the winds were grateful to me for my good opinion of them, for, apart from a few little squalls, they drove us very merrily along. So delighted was I to find myself at last in my much longed-for island that I forgot the happenings

of the voyage. If then the reader finds nothing about it in my diary, he must not be astonished. Others in plenty have described all that is worthy of notice in the crossing. As for me, I had, God be thanked, reached Saint Domingo, and if there should be one who has curiosity enough to follow me upon my way, it is from there that he must start. None the less, I stayed there more than three years, not that I might see the country, but in consequence of certain circumstances which took from me the liberty to depart. There I had to stay as it were in chains with a man who was indeed a Frenchman, though he was little worthy of the name, his harshness and malice being much more suited to a Turk. Whatever ill I suffered at his hands, I freely forgive him, being resolved never to remember his name again. I do not speak it here because the laws of Christianity forbid. At length, my patience being at its end, wearied of his never ceasing cruelties, I made complaint to M. de Francquesnay, the King's Lieutenant, who at that time was serving in place of the Governor, who had died a short while before. His generosity provided me with a refuge, and he was good enough to take me to his house where he kept me for six whole months.

Ravenau three years a hired man at Saint Domingo. His sufferings.

During this time I had borrowed money, and I thought it the duty of an honest man to pay it back. Perhaps my parents would have been content to pay my debts, but they had had no news of me, nor I of them, and the letters they had written to me passed through hands that were good enough to spare me the cost of postage. I had then to find some means whereby I might become clear of debt, and I discovered it together with a way of satisfying my natural inclination for travel. The idea came to me to join the filibusters, to go privateering with them and borrow from the Spaniards, if I could, the money to pay what I owed. The advantage of such borrowings is that they need never be repaid, like those of this country, and are considered fair enough in war. And then, since all passes beyond the line, there is hardly any question of restitution (1).

(1) The famous " Line of Good Relations ". A secret clause in the treaty of Vervins (1598) had fixed a line of demarkation, passing through the Ile de Fer from north to South, beyond which French subjects, acting as private individuals, might, at their own risk and peril, do what they liked without endangering the peace between France and Spain.

Ravenau becomes a filibuster under the command of Laurent de Graaf.

Moreover, at that time, there was a break in the relations between the two kingdoms, and commission in due order had been given to my lord the Admiral to make hue and cry against the Spaniards. The only question was that of the captain to whom I might offer myself, and therein lay no great difficulty, for in those days there was not much choice. Laurent

A Sugar Factory in the West Indies, about 1670.

de Graff seemed almost exactly the man I sought; he was a good man for a corsair, and although he had but lately arrived, he asked nothing better than to set out again. In a very short time we were well satisfied with one another, and friends such as they should be who set out in quest of the same fortune and go, probably to death, together. It was upon death that we might have counted with most reason and probability, yet

to death we gave least thought. My mind was given up wholly to our departure ; I supplied myself with arms and the little things I needed at the expense of M. de Franquesnay, who was good enough to make me advances which I have since repaid, but which I shall never forget.

At last the day came, and I shall not hesitate to say that it seemed one of the finest in all my life. It was the 22nd of November of the year 1684 that we sailed from the place called Petit-Goyave, upon the coast of Saint Domingo, one hundred and twenty men in all, upon a prize that our Captain Laurent de Graff had captured from the Spaniards some time before. Leaving the port of Carthagena upon the mainland of America, they had been making sail for Spain. It was our purpose to join, and so under our captain's guidance we did, a fleet of filibusters which we hoped to find waiting before Havana. Upon the 4th of December we anchored by Turtle Island to take water there, and sailed again upon the 6th to return to the coast of Saint Domingo (for the island is distant no more than three leagues), reached there on the 7th, and anchored at French Cape where we took on board on board the remainder of the water and wood we needed.

On the 20th, we set sail in an endeavour to rejoin the *Victorieux,* a vessel belonging to the port of Nantes which was making for the Windward Islands, with M. le Commandeur de Saint-Laurent aboard her, the lieutenant-general of the French islands, and M. Begon, intendant of justice, police and finances of the same islands, to whom we served as escort, lest they should be attacked by the pirogues which roved in those parts. It was right and fitting that care should be taken for the preservation of these gentlemen. They were held in high esteem by the colonists of all the islands for the good order which they maintained there, but we could not find their vessel not knowing by what course she sailed.

On the 23rd, we set sail ourselves, and the same evening, caught sight of a ship to leeward. To this we gave chase, but she reefed her sails and waited for us, and when we had come up to her, we found that it was Captain le Sueur of Dieppe, the Master of a flute called the *Amarante,* so we parted from him and went on our course again. On the 1st of January 1685, we doubled French Cape, and at seven of the morning on the 13th,

reached the main land of America. Upon the 16th, as the moon was waning, we espied two vessels and four boats to windward, no more than a gunshot from us. They had the wind of us, so that we had to tack to take position. At daybreak on the 18th, one of the boats, — she was rigged

Cruelties of the Spaniards to the Indians. (Engraving by the de Brys, beginning of the XVIIth century.)

as a *tartana* —, hailed us. Her captain was one Jean Rose, and as our own captain held a commission from my lord the Comte de Toulouse, High Admiral of France, he answered « Of Paris » and hoisted his flag. But Rose, who did not know us, thought that we were trying to give ourselves out as a *King's Ship* to escape him, and fired two shots to bring us to, so well indeed that taking them for Spaniards, we stove in two

The filibusters' fleet gathers near Curaçao and is active there.

powder barrels, intending to set ourselves on fire and blow up rather than fall into the hands of those who never give quarter, and make us suffer every cruelty imaginable, beginning usually with the captain, whom they hang with his commission tied round his neck. But that moment they recognised us, and we saw that in place of the enemies we had thought them they were friends, and indeed the very ships we sought, and so it was we close reefed and spent the day in visits from one ship to the other.

The two vessels belonged, the one to Captain Landresson, it had formerly been called the *Paix* but was now the *Mutine*; and the other to Captain Laurent de Graff, once the *San-Francisco,* now the *Neptune.* He had left her to come to Saint Domingo in his prize to ask the governor for a new commission, the term of his having expired. The former of these vessels carried fifty cannon, and the other forty-four : they had both been Spanish *armadillas,* which, leaving the port of Carthagena the year before to capture the vessels then commanded by Captains Laurent and Michel, as well as those under the Captains Jean Quet and Le Sage, were themselves captured by those whom they had sought to take. The four smaller ships were commanded by other captains, Rose, Vigneron, La Garde and an English trader from Jamaica. They told us that they were in that place to watch for the patache of the *Marguerite* and her escort, Spanish vessels that they thought must pass that way, and these they meant to capture.

On the 19th, we resolved to leave that place, and all sailed together for the island of Curaçoa, the greatest part whereof belongs to the Dutch Company. We passed within sight of Bonnaire and Roube, and about two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day we gave chase to a Flemish boat which had come from the port of Guonara on the mainland, and was returning to the town of Curaçao. That evening we anchored two leagues to leeward of Curaçoa in the harbour of Santa-Barba.

On the 20th, we sent La Garde's ship to the town to ask the governor's permission to obtain masts for Captain Laurent's vessel : it had been dismasted in a storm near the island of Saint-Thomas. But he refused flatly and had the town gates closed. When the boat returned, I took him a copy of our commission, hoping thereby to persuade him to grant us

what we asked, but he persisted in his refusal. In the meanwhile, a number of our men had disembarked, and after leaving their swords at the gates, had even gone into the town.

On the 23rd, our vessels raised anchor to make for Santa-Cruz, seven leagues to leeward of the town. They passed before the fort which they saluted and their salute was returned shot for shot. But the governor, seeing that about two hundred of our men were in the town, upon the 24th, summoned us by drum to leave that place and return to our vessels without delay, promising us to send us in long boats for two pieces of eight for each man. At once I perceived that he wished to prevent us from returning by land, because in order so to do, we must needs cross a lagoon which lies below the fort where he had forbidden us to go. I was obliged to go and tell him that we thanked him for his long boats, but that if we had intended to go by sea to rejoin our vessels, we should have had pirogues to take us to them. I said too, that we only wished to go by land for the sake of the walk. To this he answered that the inhabitants objected to our being allowed to see their island, but none the less, he permitted us to cross the lagoon, whence, after two days' journey we came to Santa-Cruz. It was the 26th, and there our sailors awaited us.

Afterwards we learned the reason for the governor's ill will towards us. Some time before, the ships of Captains Laurent and Michel had captured before Havana two Dutch ships chartered in Spain to carry 200,000 pieces of eight, half of which belonged to this Dutch company, and half to the Spaniards. We were at war with the Spaniards and they alone were pillaged, but their loss was made good by the Dutchmen with whom they sailed, who shared with them the 100,000 pieces of eight which belonged to their company. These the filibusters had not touched, since they had no quarrel with that company, but the captains told their officers that all had been taken, and we had to suffer for the deceit which those Dutchmen had practised upon their fellows.

Though this island of Curaçoa is well enough known in France, I shall remark in passing that it is of the same temperature as Saint Domingo, and that the same fruits grow there. The ground is flat and bare of trees for there is but little wood upon it : in many places the soil is almost barren and ill repays its masters who gather from it only maize and millet.

Yet it is watered by many springs and rivulets. The town is smal , but very pretty. Girt by a very high and narrow wall, it has a beautiful and safe harbour ; the fortress which commands it, like the town itself, is duly ortified

They who live there are of many religions, and all are allowed freedom of worship. The chief are those of the Dutchmen, the Jews and the Croats, each of which has a temple of its own in the town. They trade in the sugar that grows in their land, and in the wool which comes from the sheep of which they have many, besides the hides they get from these animals and from the oxen and cows they feed in the lowest and best watered parts of the town, where the pasture is most abundant.

Their favour is all for the Spanish nation, with which they do their greatest business.

To the mainland of America. Cape de la Vella.

On the 27th, we hoisted anchor and set sail for Cape de la Vella upon the mainland of America, where we meant to station ourselves and await the *Marguerite*, of which I have spoken before. That same day, Captain Vigneron's ship left us, and made back to the coast of Saint Domingo, for, having but twenty men on board, he was not in a fit state to make war.

Arrived at the cape upon the 30th, we anchored, and posted upon its summit a sentinel or look-out of fifteen men to warn us when they should see the *patache*. But the next day it was determined that we should use the following plan for getting news of her. Upon the Ist of February we sent Captain Rose's boat to the mouth of the river Ache, there to land upon the mainland at a place inhabited by Spaniards. It was twenty leagues distant from the cape at which we were. They were to pretend they wished to trade with them, but really their design was to take a few prisoners and so to learn whether the patache had gone or not, because it was accustomed to take a part of its cargo in this river.

While we were waiting for the return of this boat, I went on land with a few companions to look around and reconnoitre the neighbourhood of Cape de la Vella. I found that it is inhabited by a tribe of Indians, cruel, barbarous and savage, which has no friendship or society with any other people, not even with the Spaniards who surround them ; they eat all those they are able to catch. Firearms they fear not in the least,

The Return of the Filibusters.
(Engraving, XVIIth century.)

the cold s eel alone frightens them. We were satisfied with looking upon some of them and then withdrawing, without yielding to our curiosity to try their teeth by go ng farther into a land where no gain was to be had.

I cannot omit to give here a surprizing example of what I have just said and of what these people are capable of doing. I have it from some of the oldest filibusters of America. The Marquis de Maintenon, Governor of the island Marie-Galante, who commanded for the King a frigate called the *Sorcière,* having taken a prize armed with fourteen cannon, embarked upon it. One day he found himself separated from his war-ship, and to secure a supply of water was forced to anchor at Roca del Drago, on the mainland of America, inhabited by the same tribe of Indians as that of Cape de la Vella. He brought his ship as near the land as he was able, and having brought all his guns to one side of the ship, beneath their cover sent the long boat to the shore with twenty-two armed men, to fill the casks. The savages, who were in hiding on the shore, did not give the long boat time to ground but casting themselves headlong into the water, leaped upon it and carried it off with the twenty-two men in it to more than fifty paces on the beach. Then, having dispatched the men, each set one upon his back, and so they made off, despite the continual gun fire from the ship. Thereafter, swimming under water, they made to cut the ship's cables and bring it to shore, hoping to do as much for those on board, but by good fortune the ship's company had time to unfurl their sails and make speed from that land.

The 2nd day of the same month we heeled our ships to that we might scrape and caulk them, and on the eighth, Rose's boat came back. They told us that as soon as they had anchored at the mouth of the river de la Ache they had sent ashore a little boat with six Englishmen of their crew, (for at that time the English were at peace with the Spaniards). It was agreed that the next morning at daybreak, they should fire a shot to give them warning to come aboard and trade. That night they set ashore thirty to surprise any who might come and go, but the Spaniards, perceiving the trap that had been set for them, were on the alert all night, firing continually, and though the next morning our men fired the shot that had been agreed upon and hoisted the English flag, it was all to no purpose, for as far as one could see, the Spaniards did not wish to deal in that mer-

chandise with which they had seen we meant to trade. So, our plan having come to naught, our men raised anchor and came back to rejoin us.

At last, when we thought there was no more hope of the patache coming that way, we held council on our ship to make some other plan, but not being able to agree with Captain Laurent who was two thirds owner of the *Neptune,* because of the charter-party he wished to make with us, (which seemed to us unfair), we, to the number of eighty-seven, left his ship and embarked again in the prize in which we had left Saint Domingo, and so took leave of him. He raised anchor on the 23rd and set sail for that place. The captains Michel and Jean Rose also raised anchor to make for Carthagena, and we, who could not make up our minds what we would do, followed them.

The filibusters' fleet breaks up.

On the 15th, we encountered a strong east wind, which drove us past a river which the Spaniards call Rio Grande, where we should have taken water on board. It is fresh to within three or four leagues from its mouth, if there has been but a little rain, and if one draw but a little depth. About three o'clock of the same day, we saw Notre-Dame de la Poupa, also on the mainland, and, on the 16th, anchored off the Saint-Bernard Islands. From there, we set off with but three canoes to go windward of Carthagena to try to seize some of the provisions which are constantly being taken there, and indeed, our plan succeeded; we returned upon the 18th with seven canoes loaded with maize which we had captured. The Spaniards who had been in charge of it told us that there were two galleons in the harbour of Cartagena, and that the Spanish fleet was at Puerto-Bello, from which shortly were to sail two vessels, one of twenty guns, the other of twenty-four. Since they could not tell us when these ships would leave, we deemed it useless to watch for them.

At noon on the 22nd, we raised anchor, and that evening came in sight of Cape Picaron on the mainland and the islands of Palmas, after which, about two o'clock at night, we rounded the point of the largest island.

On the morning of the 23rd, we found ourselves separated from Captains Miche and Rose, and the same day we decided among ourselves tha we would make the attempt to cross the mainland, and so to come

to the Southern Sea (1). We made for the bay of Gold Island, where the Sambes Indians live, to find out from them, (with whom we were friendly), what had been the success of other filibusters who, we had been told, had gone that way some months before us.

Filibusters and Caribs. (Engraving by Le Clerc, XVIIth century.)

The night of the 23rd-24th, we stayed at the cape, fearing to enter the Darien Gulf. At daybreak on the 24th, we drew near land to reconnoitre, and found that it was to windward of the gulf which we had passed. Between that gulf and Cape Marance, a thing happened that was strange

Ravenau and his companions determine to try to reach the Southern Sea.

(1) The Pacific Ocean.

enough. We had aboard us a soldier from a Spanish galleon, whom we had caught at Carthagena in one of the canoes with the maize. He, in despair at finding himself a prisoner, though he was treated kindly and humanely, formed the resolution, as we later found, to cast himself into the sea. Five or six times he came on deck without being able to carry out his design, apparently from some secret resistance within himself. Finally, after several attempts, he did cast himself overboard. This, having aroused my curiosity, I found that he had taken off a scapular which he had been wearing, and had set it on the carriage of a cannon. The extraordinary thing was, that contrary to the manner of heavy bodies which are suddenly plunged into water, for a long while he floated on his back by the ship's side, though it was plain he made every effort to drown. Compassion having made us do all we could to save him, not only would he pay no heed, but even turned upon his face, and so sank.

Golden Island.

On the 25th, at 11 o'clock in the morning, we reached the Golden Isle and anchored there, and as we did so, fired a shot to warn the Indians of our arrival. At the same time we landed to investigate a flag which we had seen from some distance, and there we found three men from the two crews of Captains Grognier and Lescuier. These told us that they had stayed there since they could not follow the other filibusters who had set out for the Southern Sea under the leadership of those two captains, and that, as soon as they had seen us, they had hoisted the flag to signal us to come to them.

On the 26th, some Indians came on board with letters addressed to the first filibusters who should come and anchor in those roads, to inform them that to the number of one hundred and seventy men, they had gone over to that sea, and a hundred and fifteen Englishmen a little time before them. Also they gave some warning as to the manner in which those who passed that way should behave to the Indians, among other things, that great consideration should be paid to them. This confirmed us in the project we had formed to journey that way, and though we were but eighty-seven men, we prepared to leave.

During this time, other Indians came on board who told us that the Captains Grognier and Lescuier were still in their territories and had not yet reached the Southern Sea, which made us write to them by one of these Indians to tell them that we were on our way to find them.

At noon on the 27th, we saw the captains Michel and Rose sail into the same harbour. We went on board to find out what had brought them to anchor in these roads. They told us that they had just been giving chase to a Spanish vessel, the *Hardy,* which was sailing from Saint-Iago on the coast of Cuba to Carthagena, but that not having been able to come up with it, they had entered our harbour as the nearest wherein they could get water. We showed them the letters of which I have just spoken, which caused several among them to wish to increase our number, so that there came to us from Michel's vessel a hundred and eighteen men, and Rose's whole crew of sixty-four who set fire to their ship when they had paid its price to the owner. So then, upon the 29th, we left our ships and went on land, where we camped to the number of two hundred and sixty-four men. As for our vessel, we left it in the hands of Captain Michel, rather than burn it.

The filibusters' ships meet. The crews disembark to go by land to the Pacific.

JOURNEY ACROSS THE MAIN LAND OF AMERICA TO REACH THE SOUTHERN SEA

Upon Saturday the first day of the month of March of the year 1685, having commended our journey to Almighty God, we set out upon our way under the command of the Captains Rose, Picard and Desmarais, led by two Indian captains and about forty of their people to aid those of us who were most heavily burdened. On that day we could travel no more than about three leagues, and we pitched our camp upon the bank of a river. We had passed through country that seemed to us fearsome indeed, and difficult to journey through because of the mountains, the precipices and the impenetrable forests that everywhere abounded. Its difficulty was made greater by a heavy rain that fell all the following day, and as we climbed the mountains of a prodigious height, we were well nigh overwhelmed by the weight of the munitions, arms and harness that we bore. When we came down again from the mountains we entered a plain which, though it had neither track nor path, would have seemed easy to us, had we not been forced in the space of two hours to cross the same river forty-four times. This river, rushing always between the most

The column leaves.

slippery of rocks, gave us much trouble every time we crossed it, for we were always on the point of falling into it.

On the 4th, we slept at an Indian *carbet*, a spacious dwelling, built much like one of our barns, where it is their custom to assemble. We spent the 5th there also to go hunting, which we did with good effect, for the country abounds in wild beasts and birds of every sort. Among others, we saw animals which the Indians all *Manyrourys*. We called them clovers, for as they walk each of their feet makes upon the ground the imprint of that simple. This animal is as large as a bullock, with shorter and smoother hair : its legs are short ; it has a head like a donkey's, but with a more pointed nose, and it walks beneath the water as upon the land. Pigs also, which are called *Alesvent,* because of the navel-like openings they have upon the back. Agoutis and ouistitis which are similar to what in France we call « cochons d'Inde », but larger. Monkeys as large as sheep, which live in the forests and but seldom come down from the trees wherein they find their nourishment. So hardly lived are they that to take them they must be shot in the head or through the shoulders, else they will not fall, and often though this should be done, they are clever enough to twist their tail, which is very long, around the branch of a tree, as they fall, and there they stay hanging till they shrivel, and it is impossible to go and get them for they usually choose the highest trees for their lair.

The strange fauna with which the filibusters met.

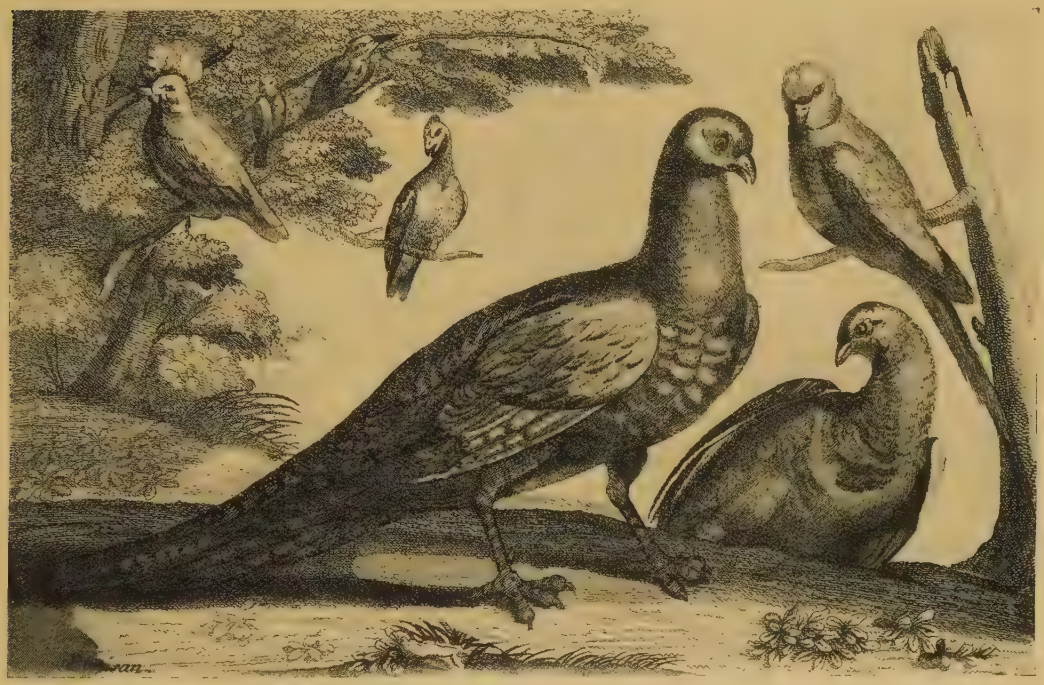
Monkeys.

I cannot recall without laughter the action I saw one of these animals perform. Having several times fired upon him, so that a part of his belly was shot away and all his guts came forth, I saw him seize a branch with one of his paws, or hands if you will, while with the other he grabbed his intestines and stuffed them into what remained to him of a belly. Another there was, who when I gave him a charge of small shot through the muzzle, so that he was blinded, diligently wiped his face with leaves of the tree whereon he sat.

We also came upon macaws, birds twice the size of a parrot, to which they are very like, even to the cry, but their plumage is infinitely more handsome, for their wings and very long tail are of so bright a hue, and that a brilliant fiery red, that one cannot gaze long at them without being dazzled. *Occos* too, we saw there, much like our turkey-hens, but with the difference that their heads are adorned with a plume like a cock's

Macaws.

comb, and that they have yellow round their eyes. They are of different colours, the male with feathers that verge upon russet, while the female is black. They are never found one without the other. There were partridges greater then those of Europe, of flesh whiter and not so tasty; their cry is unlike that of ours. The pheasants are smaller than with us, and their flesh much less agreable to the taste, but their song is almost



Nicaraguan Pheasants and other Birds. (Engraving by Bonnart, XVIIth century.)

the same. There were a host of other birds, but it would serve no useful purpose to fill this journal with an account of them, because the American islands are full of them, and so they have been mentioned in detail in the stories that have been told of those islands, and it will be sufficient for me to describe those only that are not found in the islands, or which are in some respect different from them. I shall, however, remark that lizards of different sizes abound there : they are creatures very like those called caymans of which I shall have to speak again. Their flesh is very good to eat, and their eggs which are about the size of those of the pigeon,

Lizards.

have an excellent flavour, much finer than that of our hens eggs. This hunting was of great service to us in the hunger that we then endured, for it provided the first meal we had upon our march. But that I count as a slight thing compared with the miseries we had yet to suffer on an infinity of other occasions.

At last, after a six days march, painful and wearisome to a degree past all imagining, we reached a river that Indians and Spaniards call Bora del Chica, which empties itself in the Southern Sea.

On the 7th, the Indians of that place took us to see the trees suitable for the making of canoes, wherein we could go down that river to the Southern Sea. Immediately we set to work to make them with the tools and implements we had brought, after having made agreement with the captains of these Indians to keep us supplied with food, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas and cassava root, until such time as we had finished. In return, we gave them cloth, knives, thread, needles, pins, scissors, axes, bill-hooks, combs and other little trifles of which they make such account. Though they are savages, they fail not to recognize the use they may derive from the employment of these things.

The Indians and their customs.

It was partly upon such trifles that we lived and maintained good relations with them during our passage through their lands, but what made matters the more favourable for us was the resentment they felt at that time for the bad treatment they had received from the Spaniards, whereby they were so exasperated that they begged our aid in avenging themselves. Had it not been for this, we should have found it very difficult, if not impossible, to pass through their country against their will, not only because their great number would have rendered them overwhelmingly the stronger, but because of the many forests, and the difficulty of the country through which it would have been impossible to pass without their serving as guides. Nevertheless, we did not feel ourselves so secure with those people as to prevent our being continually on our guard, because we knew very well that the wretches are always attached to him who gives them the most, and although they seemed friendly to us at that moment, they might the moment after become friendly with the Spaniards whose near neighbours they are. Their treachery cost dearly some filibusters who trusted them too fully, as these passed through

Carib Man and Woman. Papaw tree. (Engraving by Le Clerc, XVIIth century. — Hist. gén. des Antilles by du Tertre.)

their territories in but small number. The Indians gave notice of them to the Spaniards, and to show their number, since they could not count, they took them in a defile, and as each man passed, they put a grain of maize in a calebash, and then carried the calebash to the enemy, who took measures accordingly.

Manner of counting.

They have no trace of religion among them, nor any knowledge of God : it is said that they have communication with the devil, and indeed, when they wish to know anything of him, pass the night in the forests to consult him. Sometimes they made predictions to us, which, in the event, were justified in every point precisely as they had made them. They lead a wandering, vagabond life, and never settle definitely in any particular place. They usually build huts or barracks upon piles along the bank of a river, and there they remain until they have eaten up all the food they find there. When there is no more, they go and do the same along another river, and so the course of their wretched lives is spent. They go naked, except that they hide a part of their nakedness with a piece of gold or silver shaped like the extinguisher of a candle. Indeed had I not been assured that they have never seen such a thing, I should believe that they had taken it for a model.

Magic.

Costume and ornaments.

When they have a feast or any other assembly, they put upon themselves a cotton garment, all of one piece, and upon occasions of ceremony they are accustomed to wear an oval shaped piece of gold or caracoly. suspended from their pierced noses, and with that they think themselves the most attractive people in the world. Though they are very cowardly, they never go a step without their arrows and their lances. As for the women, they cover themselves from waist to feet with a material made from grasses or of cotton, which they make themselves, and to appear more beautiful, they cover their faces with rocoa, a little seed which stains a reddish brown.

On the 23rd, as we were finishing the building of our canoes, we were brought news by an Indian who had just led to the Southern Sea the hundred and fifteen Englishmen who had set off thither before us. He told us that when they reached there, they had, under the command of a certain Townsley who was their chief, captured two boats loaded with

supplies which had come from Lima. He brought us a man of Captain Grogniet's crew who had got lost in the woods while hunting, such time as his comrades were making their canoes at the same river beside which we were making ours.

On the 28th, more news came to us from the Indian captain who had guided the Captains Grogniet and Lescuier to the Southern Sea. These told us in a letter that they awaited us at the Kings'Islands, and exhorted us to lose no time in coming to take our share in the fleet from Peru for which they were watching. In spite of all our diligence, however, we could not finish our canoes before the last day of March, and on that day we dragged them to the river.

On the 1st of April, we set out in fourteen canoes, each of about twenty oars, with twenty Indians as guides, who took this opportunity to profit by the booty they were sure that we should take from the Spaniards as soon as we came to the Southern Sea.

Journey by river to the coast of the Southern Sea.

On the 4th, we stayed to await those of our people who had remained behind, and also to mend the canoes which had been damaged by the rocks and shoals which are found all along the course of that river : incredible was the trouble we had in getting them to the open sea, so many places did we come to where it was so dry that we almost had to carry them. That day one of our men died of a bloody flux, a trouble very common among us, as much by reason of our long fast, as by the bad food we had, and our continual wettings.

On the 5th, we set out again, and by evening, we found the river with a better bottom, but so full and hampered by trees which the flood had brought down that every moment our canoes were in danger of upsetting. That day two of our men died. On the 6th, we reached deep water, where the river is wider as well as deeper. We spent the day in drying our baggage, for it had been soaked, the day before, by a heavy rain that had fallen. That day again, one of our men died.

From that day until the 11th, we rowed as well as we could to reach the river's mouth the sooner, for there, we were told by an Indian who had come in a canoe to meet us, the French and English filibusters had landed flour for our refreshment at a little bay called Boca-del-Chica because it is at the mouth of that river. They knew well enough, since they had

experience themselves how short of supplies we were like to be, and, indeed, we had so little that we were reduced to a handful of maize for each man a day.

Other news came to us the same day through other Indians who warned our guides that a thousand Spaniards, who had learned of our coming, had lined the river bank to lay an ambush for us. Thereupon we resolved to travel only by night and to make no noise, so that we might escape them, which, indeed we did, but only to fall into another plight. Being new to the country, and knowing no better than our guides to what height the tide rose and fell, it surprised us on its return, and carried our canoes and ourselves a long way, so that one of them which struck a great tree that had fallen into the river, being carried against it by the strengh of the current, overturned. Fortunately, no one was drowned. Save for the arms and munitions that we lost, we were scatheless, but this loss was sufficient to render us anxious, since we found ourselves unarmed in a country wherein we presaged we should have great need of arms. Yet to deliver us of this anxiety, God disposed of some among us, and they left their weapons for those who had lost their own.

After we had passed this danger, our guides warned us to row softly, from fear lest we should be heard by the Spanish Indians who are our enemies, and who waited to attack us, some leagues on this side of the river's mouth, in a place called « Estocada ». This counsel we followed, and when we were opposite that place, where the river is very wide, they arranged our boats in such manner that the night made them seem fewer than indeed they were. These Spanish Indians having perceived something, asked what it was, to which our guides replied that what they perceived were but the little canoes which belonged to them, and that in them were Indians who were going to the Southern Sea for salt, and by this device they spared us the pains of fighting the rascally crew.

Arrival at the bay of Bocca del Chica (April 13th 1685).

On the 12th, in the morning, we anchored, for the tide was coming in and it was against us. About 10 o'clock we again set sail, and toward mid-day, it grew so dark that it was difficult to distinguish a man at one end of the boat from the other. Thereafter, there fell such an abundance of rain, that at every moment we feared we should sink, and this though

in each canoe there were two men always busied in baling out the water. During this time one of our men died.

The same day, at midnight, we reached the mouth of the river and came to the Southern Sea. Then straight we made for the bay of Bocca-del-Chica to look for the victuals we had been told were there. And indeed we found them, after we had met with one of Captain Grognier's boats. He was awaiting us with two barques that were anchored there. These the English had sent to guide our canoes to the place where the filibusters were, and to bring us food.

On the morning of the 13th, we set our sick aboard these two barques that they might be more at their ease. Then we raised anchor, and went all together to an island which is four leagues from the mouth of that river, and there we refreshed ourselves for two days upon those victuals which the English had brought us, and this was great solace to us.

On the 16th, we set off in search of the French and English fleet whose place was either cruising before Panama, or before the Kings' Islands, which are not far from the river (1).

Gathering of the filibuster fleets before Panama and the Kings' Islands.

On the 18th, we reached those islands, thirty leagues to the East of Panama. The greatest of them seems more like to the mainland than an island, so spacious and mountainous is it. Spanish marroons dwell there (2) who take refuge in that place when they run away from their masters in Panama or thereabouts. That day one of our men died.

It was in a very unwholesome season that we came to this sea, for in this part of the world, there are years when it rains every day for six months, and it was just at such a state of the weather that we arrived. Methinks that here, before I pass to the story of our adventures, I should have done well to give a full and exact description of the Southern Sea and of that fourth part of the world whose shores it bathes ; to mark the latitudes and longitudes of the places, but as it is my purpose simply to write what we did there, I shall content myself with saying that the whole continent which is washed by the Southern Sea, stands East and West, and almost all the islands, North and South of it ; and that it runs

(1) This fleet had made the journey round Cape Horn.

(2) Marroons were fugitive slaves.

The Manner whereby the Carib Priests inspire Courage in their Adherents.

(Engraving, XVIIIth century.)

from East to South-East, to South and South-West ; and from the West to West North-West, and to the North-West.

The Spanish possessions.

The Spaniards are the only strangers who possess this land since the unjust usurpation exercised therein over the original inhabitants, whose masters they made themselves by the tyrannies and cruelties that all the world knows. They have some fine islands off the shores, that stretch from Don Fernandez Islands, which are at the entrance of the Gulf of Magellan, or rather, from Chile to about the middle of a passage between the mainland and the Californian islands, which the Spaniards call Mar Bormejo, through which, it is thought, there may be communication between the Northern and the Southern seas, without the need to seek the Darien straits.

The chief of these towns, beginning at the South, are Arrica, Sagna, Rasca, Pisca, Suma or Cidad de los Reyes, the port of Callao which has a harbour wherein are moored the King of Spain's ships, that is, the Peru fleet ; Truxillo, Paita Queaquille, La Barbacoa, where there is an open mine whence the Spaniards draw much gold, Panama, the Realeguo, Recoantepeque, Acapuleo and many others both upon the coast and inland.

Ten years ago, the Spaniards who dwell in all this continent knew not what war is : they lived in great and profound tranquillity, and fire-arms were never even used among them. But, since we have found the means to go and visit them, they have procured some from the English of Jamaica, yet, although they now have a great number, they are not thereby become inured to war, as will be seen by what follows of my discourse. Nevertheless, they have for enemies the white Indians who inhabit a part of Chile, men of a prodigious height and stoutness, who make war upon them almost without ceasing, and when they catch one of them, open his belly, as though it were the breast-plate of a turtle, and pluck out his heart (1).

The force of the filibusters. Their leaders.

On the 22nd, which was Easter Day, the fleet of those who had gone before us to that sea arrived at the King's Islands, where we were. It was composed of eight square sail, which, with the two barques that had come to meet us, made ten vessels in all, which I shall now describe.

(1) Probably Patagonians.

The first, which served as admiral (1), was a frigate of thirty-six guns, under the command of a captain named David. The second, which served as vice-admiral was a small frigate of sixteen guns, commanded by one called Suams.

The third and fourth were two ships under the command of Townsley. The fifth was a ship that should have carried thirty guns, but had indeed none. This was commanded by Captain Grognier.

The sixth was a little ship commanded by Brandy.

The seventh was a fire-ship commanded by Samely.

The eighth was a long barque commanded by a quartermaster with a detachment of the fleet, and the ninth and tenth were the two barques which had come to meet us, the one of which was commanded by Peter Henry, and the other by a quartermaster.

The only one of these commands to be held by a Frenchman was that of Captain Grognier ; all the others were held by Englishmen, except that of David who was a Fleming. As for the crews, when we had been apportioned among them, they amounted to about eleven hundred men. There still remains to tell, as I learned it from all those of that fleet, in what manner these vessels had fallen into their hands, and by what way and at what time they had come to that sea.

I shall continue, following the order I have kept heretofore, and say that our admiral's masters were Englishmen who, in 1682, surprised and captured a long barque that was lying off the coast of Saint Domingo. Its captain was a Frenchman named Tristan, and he, with a part of his ship's company, was on land. He was waiting for a fair wind which should enable them to sail against the Spaniards, for he held a commission from M. de Pouançay who was at that time governor of the island. The Englishmen, finding themselves the stronger, chased away all the French who still remained on the barque, and in it sailed to the island of Torbille, where, every year, many ships go to gather salt. There they captured a Dutch vessel wherein they all embarked, and made for the coast of Guinea where they took several prizes, but of them all the only one they retained was this Dutch vessel which served them as the flag-ship. This

(1) Admiral's flag-ship in which councils of war were held, and the especial pride of every filibustering expedition.

vessel they were still aboard when we left the Southern sea ; it was believed to come from the city of Hamburg. These Englishmen, under the leadership of a captain of their nation, became pirates, and so evilly did they behave, performing all manner of odious actions, harassing not only strangers but the people of their own nation also when they came across them, that to avoid the pursuit which would inevitably have overtaken them, they went from the Northern to the Southern sea, entering it by the straits of Magellan.

There they had been about eight months in the company of a small frigate of twenty-eight guns which they met shortly after they arrived. This boat had Frenchmen, Flemings and Englishmen in its company, but their good understanding with the pirate did not last for long. They had had some dispute with him, and, one morning, when they were saying « Good day » to one another as the English custom is, all the crew came upon deck. At this, the little frigate, which sailed incomparably faster than the pirate, drew near, and having brought all her guns to the same side, fired a volley at him, discharging all her small arms at the same time, and then took advantage of the wind and made off. The pirates lost their captain and twenty men, and thereafter, the frigate was never seen again.

They elected another captain in his place, and this was David. The little frigate of sixteen guns had reached this sea some time before the other, by the same straits of Magellan. One of the engineers upon her told me that she belonged to H. R. H. The Duke of York, and that, on the pretence of coming to trade with the Spaniards, she had really only been sent to discover the plans and the manner of arrangement of the towns and harbours upon this sea. Captain David met this vessel, and having brought on board his own ship Captain Suams who was in command, threatened to take possession of her, if he would not make war with him and in his manner. Being the weaker of the two, Captain Suams preferred to yield to the pirate rather than be captured. Together they took a number of prizes, burning them after they had taken out whatever seemed of value in their eyes.

About a year later, Captain Townsley arrived with a hundred and fifteen Englishmen. They came by land, and as soon as they reached this

sea, captured two ships laden with food and refreshments on their way from Peru. This was off the Kings' Islands.

Grogniet and Lescuyer also came overland with two hundred and seventy men. They had learned that the English fleet was before Panama, and landed for the night at Tavoga, an island two leagues distant, and from there they saw a ship on fire, and, at daybreak, the English

Type of a Buccaneer in the XVIIth century. (From Esquemeling.)

under sail. They went on board and heard that David had captured the *Sainte-Rose*, a vessel laden with flour and wine, which was coming to Panama from Truxillo. The president had asked leave to ransom her, and a rendezvous had been given him for this purpose at the Bericos Islands, a league away from the harbour. But instead of sending the money which had been agreed upon for the ransom of the vessel, he had sent a fireship, which burnt up owing to the little skill and boldness of her commander. Thereafter, David gave this ship, the *Sainte-Rose*,

to Captain Grogniet and to Lescuyer's crew, since they had lost their captain.

As for the other five ships, which were commanded by Brandy, Samely, Peter Henry and the two quartermasters, they also had been captured at sea from the Spaniards by the two frigates which had reserved them for those who should come by land. But, out of all these vessels, only the first two had guns, the eight others had not a piece between them, for they were merchant ships which made use of none upon this Southern sea, where, for a long period, no others sailed except themselves. This is what had happened before we joined the fleet, and now I will tell of what happened afterwards.

On the 23rd of the same month of April, we caught the advice boat of the Peru fleet which was anchored in the harbour of Callao. It was taking to Panama despatches from Madrid and letters from the viceroy of Lima. These told us how many war ships, fire-ships and merchant vessels their fleet contained, and about what time it would arrive at Panama.

On the 26th, we questioned the captain of the despatch boat, but he would tell us nothing but what I have just said, except that when he saw he was about to be boarded he had thrown the King of Spain's despatches into the sea, and a casket of jewels besides.

The viceroy of Lima sends a force against the filibusters.

On the 27th, we put the same questions to the pilot, but he, like his commander, would tell us nothing, for they had sworn, both of them, upon the Gospels, that they would die rather than divulge any part of the secrets committed to them, or allow anything to fall into the filibusters' hands.

On the 28th, four of our men died. The evening of the same day, we set out with twenty-two fighting long boats and five hundred men to capture Seppa, a little town seven leagues to windward of Panama. On the 29th, about ten o'clock in the morning, we saw two ships bearing up to us. When they had drawn near, we perceived that they were two pirogues manned by Greeks. These Greeks are men of divers nations to whom the Spaniards have given this name. They are used by the Spaniards to serve in their wars, and these had recently been brought over from the Northern sea to defend the Spaniards against us, for they esteem them better soldiers than themselves.

We immediately detached two of our boats, those which sailed the

swiftest, with twenty men upon each. The Greeks who knew us for what we were, that is to say for filibusters, did not wait to be asked, but fled to one of the islands with which the bay of Panama is strewn. In landing, they lost one of their pirogues which broke upon the rocks : the other they left to us. Then they made for a height with their arms and what ammu-

The Caribs' method of fighting in the XVIIth century. (Engraving by the de Brys.)

nition they could muster, and fought with us very valiantly under a flag of defiance (1). And as the place where we disembarked was commanded by this high position upon which they were, and was too steep for us to

(1) To hoist the " flag of defiance " was a serious matter, for it gave notice that wounded and prisoners would be slaughtered. It was a case of victory or death.

climb it from where we were, we were constrained to make a long detour to come at them from another place where we found the ground more in our favour. Finally, after a prolonged struggle, we compelled them to run away to the woods. We captured two prisoners, took their flag, and found from twenty-five to thirty slain upon the ground.

The two prisoners told us that those who had run away could number but a hundred at the most, and that we should have them easily if we would, there being many wounded among them. They told us also that at Panama it was known that a reinforcement had come from the Northern sea to join the filibusters' fleet, and that the president of Panama had sent a messenger to Lima to cause the viceroy to keep all merchant ships in harbour waiting a new order, and to send the war fleet as soon as possible to deal with our own and chase us from that sea. We rid ourselves of these two prisoners for that they had hoisted the flag of defiance, being three times more in numbers than ourselves.

After this piece of good fortune, and when we had taken back the long boats, we continued our design upon Seppa. Before reaching there we had to go for about two leagues up a very fair broad river which bears the same name. This is furnished with look-outs, so that we could not fail to be seen and to find the town all in alarm and expectation. However, we went forward headlong, and took it without losing a single man. Then, seeing that we should find very little there worth our while, because they had made off with everything, we went back to our boats.

As I shall be obliged to speak of watching and of watches many times, it is fitting that I should explain that *to watch* is to place sentinels on land or sea, and that they who perform this work are called watches. The Spaniards have a great number of them, for all the cities, towns and even isolated houses, employ men at wages whom they send to the highest points in the neighbourhood, and to the banks of rivers, where they have their horses all ready in such a way that, as soon as they catch sight of the enemy, they dash away to warn the Spaniards who then prepare, not to fight, but to escape with their treasure.

On the 1st of May, we rejoined our ships which were waiting for us near a very pretty island, called Sepilla, distant a league from the mouth of the Seppa river. This island is surrounded by many others, so that

they fill the channel which forms the bay of Panama. They make, as it were, a long bar which divides the channel into two parts, one to the east and the other to the west. The delights which we found in that place are worthy of remembrance and I shall give a short description of them.

A Carib Market in the XVIIth century. (Engraving by the de Brys.)

The wealth of the Tropics.

I shall say then that so pleasant and beautiful are all these towns that they are commonly known as the gardens of Panama. This is not without reason, for all the people of note of that town own one of these islands as their private property, and there have pleasure houses with delightful gardens, watered by many sparkling springs, adorned and embellished with flowers in prodigious confusion and bowers of jasmine as far as one can see. They are filled too with an almost infinite number

of every kind of fruit that grows in that land, among which I remarked four different kinds, the Sappota, the Sapotilla, the Avocata and the Cayemites. The first is a fruit almost exactly like our own pear. It is of different sizes ; its skin is grey, and inside are two oval kernels, very smooth and glossy, which, in the most luxuriant of these fruits, are each a little larger than one of our common nuts. When this fruit is ripe it is very soft, and when it is peeled, there appears flesh of a most beautiful red colour, particularly delightful to the palate. The second has the same form, but its size does not exceed that of a russet pear. Underneath the skin it is white and excellent to the taste. The third is like our quince, but greener : it must be perfectly ripe if one is to enjoy it, and then its flesh is as white as snow. The Spaniards eat it with a spoon like cream, and indeed it has the taste of cream.

The fourth is like our large damson, violet in colour and extremely tasty. Besides these and many others with which this country is especially favoured, it contains a great number which are to be found all over America, like the Monbain plums, the Sivellas plums, apricots, pomegranates, junipers, cashew nuts, cocoanuts, locust nuts, cachimens, coca, bananas, pineapples, figs, and every kind of orange, citron and lemon, water melons and French and Spanish melons. All these rich presents of fruit and fresh water which nature offered to us upon these estates were a marvellous solace to us after the labours of our recent journey across the mainland, without considering the abundant harvest of maize and rice with which we found the soil of these islands covered, though I doubt not that the Spaniards never meant that we should reap what they had sown. But these same islands where we had enjoyed so much that was agreable, brought us some grief beside, whereof I shall shortly speak.

On the morning of the 8th of May, we set sail and passed before the old and new towns of Panama. The old is that which was captured by the English general Morgan in the year 1670 : its churches and houses seemed very fine so far as we could judge at a league's distance. Only the new town has been fortified ; it is well girt with walls and several other earthworks, but that is only upon the sea side. This town has one drawback : it is at the end of a bay, and as the tide goes very far out in this country, big ships are left high and dry if they anchor nearer than a

league to the town. We approached as nearly as we could with our flags and pennants flying and proceeded to anchor at Tavoga, which seemed to us an enchanted island, so pleasant and gay were the gardens and the houses there.

On the 9th, we scraped and caulked our ships, and one of our men

The Wonderful Fruits of America. (Engraving by Th. de Bry, end of the XVIth century.)

died. On the 10th, we sent our long barque cruising that it might give us warning when the Spanish fleet appeared.

On the 13th, we selected the vessels for attack. Captains David and Grogniet were to deal with the Spanish admiral; Captains Suams and Townsley, the vice-admiral; Captain Peter Henry and one of Townsley's prizes, the patache. Our fire-ship was to stay under our admiral's

quarter, while our other vessels were to attack the remainder of the fleet, and our armed pirogues to keep off the enemy's fire-ships.

The filibusters attack the town of Panama

That day, a number of shots were fired at Panama, the cause whereof we could not imagine. On the 14th, we landed upon the island of Tavoga forty prisoners whose presence on board our ships was inconvenient, and then raised anchor to go and keep watch for the fleet from Cape Pin. This precaution was very ill timed however, for the fleet, which had desired to save us this trouble and also that of attacking it, had already sailed into Panama without our seeing it. It had found its way through those delightful islands by one of the two channels which they form (as I have said), and they hid it from our sight as we cruised up and down the other channel through which we expected it to pass.

As we knew nothing of all this, and our long barque, when it rejoined us, said it had seen nothing, we anchored at Kings' Islands, where the accustomed oath was administered to all the fleet that we would not wrong one another of the value of a piece of eight, should God be pleased to give us the victory over the Spaniards. On the 17th, one of our men died.

On the 19th, we weighed and anchored between the mainland and the islands in the Eastern channel through which we believed the fleet we awaited was bound to pass. On the 26th, another of our men died.

On the 29th, we hoisted sail and made for Cape Pin. On the 31st, we chased two boats but lost them in the night. The pursuit of these ships brought us back to the little islands of Panama, and there we anchored on the 1st of June. The same day we caught two Greeks upon the island where we had fought them on our way to capture Seppa.

On the 4th, we sent two boats to the island of Sepilla to try to take a few prisoners that we might learn some news from them. They captured a barque laden with planks which the Spaniards were taking to Panama, to build pirogues in place of those which we had captured from them.

Those in charge told us that the fleet had entered Panama on May 12th, and that on the 13th, they had fired a number of guns by way of rejoicing. As soon as they were refreshed, careened and manned, they would come out to fight us, and this they did not fail to do.

At noon on the 7th, Captain Grogniet, who was anchored farther out from the island than we were, signalled to us that he sighted the

Spanish fleet of seven sail. Their number he indicated to us by hoisting and lowering his flag seven times. When we had doubled the head of the island where we had anchored, we saw seven large ships making for us, the flag of defiance at the poop and the royal at the mast. Then the hope which our crews had lost when they heard that the fleet had sailed into Panama returned to them, and the desire which they felt to profit by the riches which that fleet carried, so inspired them that most cast their hats into the sea, believing that they had those of the Spaniards already in their hands. We put our ships in order and then disputed the wind with them which at that time was towards the west.

About three o'clock of the afternoon, we got the weather-gage of them, all but Captain Grogniet, who had waited for his boat to come from the shore and had cast about twice. Our admiral, finding himself to windward of the Spanish vice-admiral who had become separated from his own admiral, signalled to us to follow him and engage her, and to that end we lengthened our sprit-sail, but our admiral lowered his flag to indicate that he wished to postpone the business till the morrow, hoping that Grogniet also would get the advantage of the wind during the night. As the sun was going down, the Spanish admiral who was to leeward of us, saluted us with seven blank shot, to which salutation our own admiral replied with a full volley of ball. Night having fallen, the Spaniards anchored. They knew the currents among those islands better than we, and sent one ship with a lantern to anchor two leagues to leeward of us, to make game of us and get us to make some false move. And, indeed, we lay by the whole night, so that the next morning we should be to windward of the lantern which we imagined to be the whole fleet.

Naval battle with the Peru fleet which is defeated.

At daybreak on the 8th, we found out our mistake, and were greatly astonished to find ourselves to leeward of the enemy fleet, all of us save Captain Townsley and his prize, who had the wind. Unfortunately, as I have remarked before, these two vessels carried no guns.

An hour after sunrise, the enemy fleet was still anchored. We did all we could to gain the wind again, but their vice-admiral, whose anchor was apeak and who had his sails very lightly furled, suddenly let them fill and, with the wind behind him, was upon our admiral in a moment. Our vice-admiral crowded sail to go to his assistance, for the Spaniards'

volley had already sorely punished him. This reinforcement forced the enemy to manoeuvre to keep the wind, and all day long we strove fruitlessly to take it from him. The Spaniards, under whose fire we were, handled us so severely that our admiral and vice-admiral were compelled to make fast to one another, determining to perish fighting bravely rather than allow any vessel of their fleet to be taken. They could, had they so wished, have both escaped, for they were incomparably swifter than the Spaniards.

In the afternoon, Captain Townsley, who was to windward of the enemy fleet, sent his pirogue to our admiral for orders. The steersman had his legs carried away by a cannon ball.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, the Spaniards sent a ship of twenty-eight guns to prevent Captain Grogniet from rejoining us. Some Spaniards who had been our prisoners had made known the fact that his ship was strongest in light armament, and they feared him the more because they knew that his ship's company was made up of Frenchmen only. At last, finding ourselves on the point of disaster as the result of his gun fire, we would have made an end by boarding the Spaniard, but he would have none of it. We veered with the help of a sudden gust of wind to go and engage the Spanish vice-admiral, who was the best sailor and was most closely upon our heels, but we had no sooner unmoored than the wind changed again. This was greatly to our disadvantage, for we were upon the enemy who, not having felt the wind which had brought us round, still bore upon us. Consequently, when we had veered around this second time, he was so near us that he had to clew up the point of his mainsail for fear of getting his bowsprit upon our counter. This compelled us to loose the boats at our stern, that we might go better, and in this state we resisted until nightfall.

Peter Henry's boat, wherein I was myself, having been struck by more than twenty cannon balls, was constrained to make the best of her way. This our admiral and vice-admiral perceived, and let out their top-gallant sails which had been braced during the struggle to wait for us, for our progress was very slow. The enemy, seeing our manoeuvre, sent after us their smallest ship, but as we turned upon her, she sent eighteen gun shot after us and went back to the fleet.

During the fight our long barque had been very sorely treated. Her

crew were forced to abandon her, and, since they had not the time to sink their ship, they cast overboard a few guns which our admiral had allotted them, and then saved themselves on one of our ships. The Spanish prisoners who had been left on board, finding themselves free, made to

Games of the Caribs. (XVIIth century engraving.)

go to the Spanish vice admiral, but he, taking the barque for our fire-ship, sank her by gun fire, without allowing her to come near him, not realising that these were his own people.

The filibusters take refuge in the island of San Juan de Cueblo.

On the 9th, we could see neither our own fleet nor that of the Spaniards, and this obliged us to get under way for the island of San Juan de Cueblo, eighty leagues to the west of Panama. Favoured by an easterly breeze, we reached there on the 14th, and at once ran our ship aground, and it was

high time too, for ever since the fight, we had had five feet of water in our hold. We were working at the repairs so that we could go back to Panama and find out what had become of our fleet, for we were very anxious about it, when our anxiety was allayed by its coming to anchor in the place where we were. Our people told us that they had done no more fighting since we had left them, that, on the evening of the 9th, the Spanish fleet had anchored within gun shot of our own, and that after both sides had made ready on the 10th, the Spaniards had sailed away to the harbour of Panama. Captain David, they said, had been greatly troubled by the Spanish fire, especially by the two shots which had carried half his rudder away, but he had only six wounded and not a single man killed. Captain Suams had not been less ill used, the whole of his poop was carried away; he had been holed beneath the water line several times; his mate had had his head blown off by a cannon ball, but he had only three wounded. The other little boats had lost not a single man killed, and very few wounded. Of this I can say with truth and with no exaggeration, that it is a remarkable thing, and with somewhat of the miraculous about it, that with so few men, with ships so puny as ours were, we were able to withstand the fire, to resist and to engage a fleet so considerable in comparison with our own. Their vessels were good and well manned. Their flag-ship was a vessel of seventy guns though she mounted no more than fifty because of her age. The vice-admiral mounted but forty, although she had ports for sixty. She was a very fine ship and a good sailer, but was old also. The patache which should have carried forty guns had only twenty-eight. The convoy like the patache was pierced for forty, but had only sixteen. The other three were almost as large and were fitted out as fire-ships. They mounted guns so that, we not taking them for what they were, they might approach us and surprise us with greater ease than if we had suspected them.

If we had come upon that fleet as we had hoped we should before it had been reinforced at Panama, or if we had only had the wind of it when we were attacked, I doubt not that things would have taken on another complexion, and that we should have taken enough from their vessels to have returned by the straits with wealth enough to keep us at our ease. This would have spared us at once from a continual spell of

trouble and weariness which we suffered for more than three years, both in these parts and on our return overland to the Northern sea. But Divine Providence had otherwise ordained.

On the 29th, we left this island of San Juan, three hundred men in five long boats, to surprise Pueblo Nuevo, a town five leagues distant. We were to try to secure victuals whereof we now felt the need. On the 31st, after landing, we captured one of the watch, but another escaped, so that our presence was made known. To reach this town, it is necessary to go up a very fair river and take advantage of the rising tide. Before reaching it we came to a defensive entrenchment, but it was ill guarded. The town is not too well situated, though it is on the bank of the river, for there are marshes all around it. We found there neither people nor victuals, and left again on the 3rd of July. On the 4th, we went back with our long boats to rejoin our fleet, and gave chase to a barque laden with silk. We took it, and on the 5th, reached our ships again.

Dispute between French and English filibusters.

In our descent upon this town we had a difference of opinion with the Englishmen. They were many more than we, and wished to make the most of the fact, and assume the mastery in all things. Townsley, one of their captains, had thought he would take from Captain Grogniet the ship which David had given him. He proposed to give him his own in exchange, for it was near foundering. When he saw that he had to deal with men who though fewer in numbers, would not so tamely be put upon, he was obliged to desist. When we saw that he continued to give himself such haughty airs, we, to the number of a hundred and thirty Frenchmen, disembarked and left them. I have not counted Captain Grogniet's crew, which made two hundred more. After forming ourselves into a separate band, we went on shore upon the island.

One of the main reasons which put us out of sympathy with one another and had caused several disagreements, was due to their impious attitude to our religion. When they entered a church, they scrupled not to cut off the arms of the crucifixes with their sabres, or to fire upon them with their muskets and pistols, with the same arms breaking and mutilating the images of the saints, in derision of the worship which we Frenchmen gave them. It was especially from such horrible misbehaviour that the Spaniards had conceived a hatred which they directed without

distinction against us all. This we learned from several letters that fell into our hands, which I have had translated into French, as will appear later.

On the 9th, the English weighed, and went five or six leagues to leeward of us, anchoring there again. They determined to build boats to take the place of those that they, as well as we, had lost during our battle with the Spanish fleet. We also sought for trees to make boats, going into the woods which, in these parts, are very near the sea. We chose the largest, which are usually mangrove or mahogany, and the most tender and easy to work upon. Among them we took in hand some so mighty that one trunk alone was fashioned and hollowed out till it would hold eighty men.

As we were engaged in making our boats, a sentinel whom we had posted on a very high tree by the sea shore of our island, both to make sure that the English who knew that we were busied upon our boats did not come to take away our ship, and to watch whether some Spanish vessel should pass between our island and the mainland, came, on the 15th, to tell us that there was a sail in sight, steering South-West by West. We went after it at once and came up with it. It was a small ship commanded by Captain Willnet, an Englishman who had forty men of his own nation and eleven Frenchmen in his company, of whom we had never before known. They told us that it was a long time since they had come overland to this sea, that recently they had captured the boat in which they sailed, laden with flour, in the harbour of Sansonet on the mainland, the port of Guatemala, thirty leagues to the east of San Juan. Then going up the coast from the south, they had heard that the viceroy of Lima had sent the Spanish fleet expressly to hunt for and defeat the filibusters. So they discovered that there were others besides themselves in those seas, and hearing this good news, they had come in search of us so as to have a share in the capture of this fleet. When they reached Panama, where they had hoped to meet us, they learned that the fight was already over, and that we had gone to the island of San Juan. The other Englishmen, who, as I have said, had anchored five or six leagues to leeward of us, had also sent a boat to know what this barque was. It came up with her as soon as we did, which did not greatly please us, for the barque was

A Spanish Captain of the American Colonies. (Engraving of the XVIIth century.)

The English leave the French in the island of San Juan de Cueblo.

laden with victuals. The English so well persuaded these new arrivals that they carried them off to anchor with them, except for the eleven Frenchmen who left them and stayed with us.

This island of San Juan de Cueblo is about a dozen leagues around, standing east and west, and north and south. It lies five leagues from the mainland, separated therefrom by a very narrow channel (we give the name channel to an arm of the sea that runs between two lands); it is not inhabited, very mountainous and well filled with wood *(marie)* in which it abounds.

When we took up our abode upon this island, we hoped that we should enjoy the best of fare upon it, so well was it peopled with deer, monkeys, agoutis and lizards, while its creeks abounded in turtles' dens. But we were deprived of these enjoyments by two unhappy circumstances. In the first place, the English, in less than a fortnight, had destroyed so many of these turtles with their harpoons, (so that they might salt them down), that very few of them were left. Secondly, and this regards our hunting upon the island, after we had greatly enjoyed it at the beginning of our stay, we had to forbid it, because we had remained in that place longer than we had anticipated, and so had to save our powder, lest, when we had used it up, the Spaniards should have had us too easily. So it came about that we spent a whole month upon the island with but two turtles for the 330 men of us in twice twenty-four hours, and we had to search for berries in the woods whereon to live. Some indeed died of them, for we did not know their properties.

Serpents and the « serpent berry. »

Upon that island there is a kind of serpent so dangerous that, if one is bitten by it, and does not carry a certain fruit which he first chews and then immediately puts upon the wound, he must surely die, and that quickly. This we found out by experience, for we lost two of our men in this way, who in their dying suffered very great pain through the activity and the violence of the fire which the venom had kindled in their bodies. The tree which bears this fruit grows in that very place, as well as in other parts of that land. In height and leaves it is much like our almond tree but its fruit is somewhat like a sea-urchin, and has a whitish almond inside. It must be thoroughly chewed before it is set to the wound, and it bears no other name than that of *serpent berry.*

There are also many caymans, two and three leagues up country. This is a kind of crocodile which lives indifferently on land, in the rivers or in the sea. So fond of flesh are these caymans, that we have had men devoured by them.

Agreement with the English

On the 27th, the Englishmen sent a quartermaster to ask us if we would join with them, for they thought they were not strong enough to capture the town of Leon, upon which they had designs. It was then that we realised how terrible extreme misery can be, so that it is almost impossible to let slip an opportunity of escaping it when such opportunity arises, no matter what repugnance reason finds in so doing. We had left the English, because their impiety horrified us, yet we agreed to their proposition that we should rejoin them. They had all the victuals on their side, and this was indeed a delightful inducement to men dying of hunger. To begin with, we asked for something to eat, and that they should provide us with a boat, for we had only one and it would not hold us all, and we did not wish to be distributed among their ships as we had been before. To this they would not agree. However, we would not weaken upon this point, though hunger forced thirteen of our people to leave us for the Englishmen, for they could not accustom themselves to the fasts we were constrained to keep. On the 4th of August, four men died.

Lack of food drives the filibusters from the island of San Juan de Cueblo and compels them to an adventure upon the coast.

On the 9th, knowing that the Englishmen had left, we embarked a hundred and twenty men upon five boats under the command of Captain Grogniet, and left behind two hundred and six others, some upon the ship and some on land, telling them to build still more boats. Then we crossed to the mainland.

We landed on the 11th, and came to a *hatte*, which is a kind of farm where the Spaniards raise cattle. This one was near a town called San Iago, twenty leagues distant from the island of San Juan. We took the people we found in this *hatte*, among them the master who showed us and directed us to a sugar factory upon the San Iago river. There we were discovered. We sounded these prisoners, one after the other, in order to find out if they knew of our separation from the English. We told them that we had just arrived from the Northern sea, and that they should inform us concerning the filibusters who, we had been told, were in the Southern sea. They answered that there had been filibusters at the island

of San Juan, repairing the damage they had received at the hands of the Peru fleet, and other matters which we knew better than they, but they did not mention what had happened between the Englishmen and ourselves. We conjectured therefore, that of this they knew nothing, and we should have been very glad that every other Spaniard should have known no more, in our fear lest our lack of unity should make them bolder to attack us.

After this, we sent off a boat which we had captured on the river to take to our comrades some victuals which we had found at the *hatte*, and to give them warning that we were going towards Panama to try to capture a few barques so that we might try to get away from that island of San Juan, for, as I have just said, our one ship was not sufficient for us. When their boats were ready, they were to go and take Pueblo Nuevo again, and so to supply themselves with food enough to keep them till we returned.

A landing

On the 15th, we landed forty leagues to leeward of Panama, and, although we had no guide, the hospitality of some cockerels invited our attention to a very fine estancia. This was a house standing by itself and there we took fifty prisoners, both men and women, among whom were a young man and a young woman of quality who promised us ransom, We took them to an island called Iguana, a league from the mainland, where the only water is rainwater that collects in holes in the rocks.

We waited until the 28th for this ransom, which was paid to us exactly, and we let them go when they had warned us that eight leagues to windward, there was a river, and in that river two barques laden with maize. We set out at night, reached them in the morning and captured them. Then we set off once more to rejoin our people at the island of San Juan, reaching there on September 3rd. They told us that a hundred of them, of whom ninety-eight returned, had set out on the 25th of the month before for Pueblo Nuevo, as we had told them. On the 27th, they had arrived there, and although they had been seen by the watch of that town, they had captured it and stayed there two days despite the continual and divers attacks of the Spaniards. Then the commandant of the place had come with a trumpet to parley with them, and asked them why they flew a white flag since they were English (or so he thought), but they had no desire to satisfy his curiosity on this point, and sent him about his business. Eight

of them having gone some distance from the place of arms, two of them were massacred by a hundred and fifty Spaniards who, seeing them in such small number, bravely fell upon them. Yet with all their advantage, they could not prevent the six others from getting back to the main-guard, with such extraordinary energy did they retire fighting.

On the 4th, we set off again with six boats and a hundred and forty men. Two of them we detached and sent to the *hatte* which we had

This gale became so violent that it made the sea utterly frightful...

captured on the 11th of August, to get the ransom of the master whom we had taken prisoner. We, with the four others, returned to the sugar factory in Saint Iago, to seize the sugar cauldrons, for which we had a use. Then we learned that the governor of San Iago had been there after our departure, the first time we had captured it, together with eight hundred men. We stayed there until the 9th to await the reply of a prisoner whom we had dispatched to this governor. We had told him that if he cared to come back with his eight hundred men we were ready for him, but no news came, and we started back again when our two boats had come for us. We reached our ship and the two barques at the ilsand of San Juan on the 11th. On the 15th, we careened our vessels

and took on board water and wood. We should have left the island in due course had it not been for an incessant rain which lasted eighteen days, and weather so bad that we could not even come upon deck. During all this time there was not a ray of sunlight, and it is for this reason that the Spaniards call the area between the bay of Gurgera and the island of San Juan the rain-spout of the Southern sea. Throughout the whole year there are but four months of fair weather, and these are December, January, February and March : the eight other months are accompanied by heavy rain, which either does not stop at all or for but a short space. This, apart from the bloody flux to which it gives cause, is so pernicious that when a man suffers a drenching without immediately changing his clothes, between his skin and his flesh there form worms as fat as a quill, and as long as half a finger.

Drawbacks of the climate.

On the 4th of October, the weather having cleared, we patched up our sails which were well nigh rotten, and concluded our preparations for departure. The same day one of our men was bitten on the leg by a serpent and died at once, not having taken the precaution to carry on him the remedy of which I have spoken.

On the 6th, we made ready and sailed for Realeguo, a town with a harbour a hundred and sixty leagues to the west and west by north-west from the island of San Juan, and 260 leagues west of Panama. Until the 11th, we had a gentle south wind ; on the 12th and 13th, we steered west north-west, and on the evening of the latter day, sighted land. On the 14th, there came a squall from the south which made us take in all sail until midnight, and then a calm until the 17th, when, about midday, we were surprised by a gale from the south-west with a heavy rain. This separated us from our two barques. So violent and so wild was this gale that it made the sea utterly frightful, indeed, just below the first girdle it stove in a plank and made us think that we were surely wrecked. Fortunately, the weather grew calmer, and heeling over our ship, we spent the 19th in putting her to rights, and in mending our shirts and drawers, wherewith we were already ill provided. Towards evening, we sighted land, and recognised the bay of Caldera, whereof I shall shortly speak. On the 20th, we passed within sight of Colebra, and thereafter had fine weather with a south-easterly wind, and on the 21st, were off the Morns which

To Realeguo.

the Spaniards call Papegais. On the 22nd, we were opposite Realeguo, a place remarkable for the high mountains which surround it, especially a sulphurous hill of a great height which is always burning. This is some leagues to windward, and its smoke is seen from very far, but the following night the tide had taken us twenty leagues to windward of it. A volcano.

On the 24th, we launched four boats, with a hundred men, to capture a few prisoners, so that from them we might gather some information about that coast upon which we had never before ventured.

On the 25th, we made land and went ashore. After we had marched three leagues we came to a *hatte*, which we caught by surprise. There we learned that the English had captured the town of Leon and burned Realeguo. The inhabitants of Segovia, Granada, Sanssonnet, Saint-Michel, Saint-Salvador and Villa Nueva, which are all towns in the neighbourhood of the first two, had sent considerable help to them of the town of Leon, but still they had not ventured to attack the English though they remained there five whole days.

On the 26th, one of our quartermasters, a Catalonian by nation, who had been sick, gave himself up to the Spaniards, which prevented us from proceeding to take the town of Granada, of which I shall speak in due course, for we had no doubt but that he would give them warning of our designs upon that place.

On the 27th, we re-embarked in our boats and made for the harbour of Realeguo where we were to meet our ship. At no place upon that coast were we able to land, for the sea dashes upon it with such violence when the wind comes from the south, as it did then, that it was impossible to come near. Nevertheless we set six men swimming to try to fill a few casks with water, of which we were short, but they could not do it, the Spaniards following us always along the shore. As ill luck would have it, one of the men was drowned.

We arrived at the harbour of Realeguo on the 1st of November, and there found our ship at anchor. This harbour has two entrances whereof the one to windward is the better : it is very narrow. There are also two hills or little mountains which form the two points thereof on one of which the Spaniards intended to build a fort. A very fine river which bears the name of the town flows into the harbour. There is shelter from every

wind. Within it there are five islands which serve very conveniently for careening ships, and one has but to go three leagues up this river to find the town. Before we reached there with our boats, we came upon three intrenchments of very considerable strength. They were built upon the bank of the river about a quarter of a league's distance one from the other, and the Englishmen had partly destroyed them by fire. At a musket shot from the town, the Spaniards have three excellent shipyards. The town itself is bathed by the river and situated in a very fine country watered by several other little rivers. Churches and houses, though they were half burned too, seemed to us to have been very handsome. The staple trade of the inhabitants is in *bray* and tar. It must further be observed that the river whereof we speak has eight arms which lead conveniently to a number of little towns, sugar factories and *hattes* of which this country is full. They belong to the citizens both of this town and those of the neighbourhood, among them Leon, which is only four leagues distant, situated in a very fine plain. On the 2nd, we captured two of these *hattes*, from which we carried off victuals for those who remained on board careening our ship.

On the 6th, we set out to the number of a hundred and fifty men, to capture the sentinels of the town of Leon. Having taken them by surprise, they told us that there were two thousand men in that place, who, trusting not in their numbers, had taken all the wealth thereof and sent it away beyond our reach.

The "excommunication" by the Spanish priests of the port of Realeguo.

On the 9th, we returned on board, and on the 10th started for a sugar factory which is two leagues distant from that town. We reached there at midnight, but found no one, all having fled to the town when it became known that we had overpowered the sentinels. As we were leaving the sugar factory to return to the seashore, our advance guard came upon a detachment of horse upon which it opened fire, obliging it to take to flight. The captain remained a prisoner, and he told us, when questioned, that he had been listening to us for a long time, but not being able to tell what tongue we spoke, he had taken us for a company of 180 mulattos who were trying to find and engage us, knowing that we were on land and were like to be at the factory that day. We asked the captain what was the force he commanded. He told us that it was a troop of horse from Leon

A Brigantine giving chase to a Felucca, and ready to board.

which was guarding the wharf at this factory. The governor of the town learning that we were in the neighbourhood of Realeguo, had sent them orders to withdraw. This made clear to us that our enemies kept strong guard when there was nothing to fear, and retired immediately they knew we were at hand.

These were indeed the kind of men we liked to meet. For, in truth, if they had had the very least degree of resolution and courage, seeing their numbers in comparrison to ours, they should have completely exterminated us every time we came upon them. So we found our safety to be as well established in their cowardice as in our own courage.

On the 13th, we set off with the same company of 150 men to take a little town three leagues from the town of Realeguo, called Pueblo Viejo. We went right through the town, finding it completely devoid of inhabitants. It had been utterly abandoned because of the excommunication that they themselves had fulminated against it.

This extravagance may perhaps seem surprising, but there is nothing more true than that when the filibusters have several times come upon them in the same place, their prelates, after excommunicating it and pronouncing curses upon it, they all leave it, and do not even bury the bodies of those we have killed, judging them, for that very reason, unworthy of burial.

On the morning of the 14th, we reached that little town of Pueblo Viejo, whose sentinels had discovered us the evening before, so that we found the enemy established in the principal church and about a hundred and fifty horsemen at the place of arms. We began by firing upon these, after which they fell to rout and made off. They who were in the church defended themselves for the space of half an hour, after which they escaped by a door behind the vestry, which we were not watching. A day and a half we stayed in that town and carried away all the provisions we could, both on the horses we had captured from them and on our own backs. On the 16th, we returned on board our ship.

Excomunicated places.

On the 18th, we returned to take an estancia that was a league and a half from that town. We took prisoner the master of it, and he told us that on the day of our departure 600 men had lain in ambush for us

along the road by which we had come. Without knowing of this we had taken another road on our return.

On the 21st, we returned on board with this prisoner who promiser us victuals for his ransom, and on the 22nd, we sent on shore anothed prisoner to endeavour to secure them for us as soon as possible.

The Spaniards sue for peace.

On the 24th, a Spanish officer brought us a letter from the Vicar-General of the province, (by all appearances, on the order of the General of Costa Rica). This informed us that there was a twenty year peace between the realms of France and Spain, who had joined together to make war upon the infidel. This being so, the letter said, we should no more be hostile to them. If it were our design to return to the Northern sea, we should go to them in all safety, and they would send us to Europe upon the galleons of His Catholic Majesty. To this proposal we made suitable response, knowing only too well how evilly the Spaniards were disposed to us in their hearts. Under a false pretence, they hoped to get hold of us, the more easily because they had learned of the extreme hardships we had to bear, from one of our men who, as we have said before, had given himself up to them to escape the long fasts he would have had to keep with us.

On the 26th, we scraped our ship. On the 27th, we sent ashore thirty prisoners, to some of whom we gave their liberty, and on the 28th, we made ready to return in search of our two barques, whom we had arranged to meet at the island of San Juan de Cueblo, in case we should be separated. As we left the harbour, the Spaniards gave warning of the way we took, by sending up smoke along the coast.

On the 2nd of December, we found ourselves more than a hundred leagues out where the north-east wind had blown us. We made for land again and reached it on the 5th. We sent out three boats with 71 men across the bay of Colebra to try to find provisions along the coast, and so relieve our ship of so many mouths, for we were already too lightly supplied with victuals for those who remained on board and were to go to the island of San Juan. The food we had gathered whilst we were on land in the port of Realeguo, was not of much account, for the Spaniards being warned of us, had taken their supplies so far inland that we did not dare to go and fetch them. We were but few in numbers and were not yet fully

cognisant of the depths of their poltroonery. From Realeguo to Panama there are many little ports which must be very well known if they are to be found, for the entry to them is well hidden. If they are missed, it is absolutely impossible to get to land along that coast, the sea there being always agitated, disturbed and terrible, when there is the least wind from the southeast or the south.

The winds.

I have observed this difference between the Southern sea and the Northern : however violent the wind may have been, the very moment that it falls, the sea becomes as calm as though it had never blown, whereas in the Northern sea, although the wind has fallen, it still remains for several days in the same state of agitation as when the wind blew strong. I have also observed that the squalls which come up to leeward are much more to be feared in the former than those which rise to windward, which is the contrary of what happens in the latter, where a vessel usually troubles only about those which rise to windward, unless there is a remarkably great variation in the winds. Still another difference between these two seas is that the Southern sea is peaceful enough upon the main, and extremely impetuous along the coast, while that of the North is often very rough far out and almost always calm along the land.

The serpents of the Southern Seas.

The Southern sea, in several places, breeds a very great number of serpents. They are in colour like spotted marble and most of them are two feet long. Their bite is so venomous and mortal that once attacked thereby there is no human remedy that can preserve one from a quick and sudden death. A peculiar fact about them is that when the sea, with its impetuous waves, casts these reptiles upon a bank of sand, though they may still not have left the water, no sooner do they touch the sand than they die.

On the 9th, having journeyed along the coast, we disembarked fifty men from our three boats to take the valley of the Esparse, three leagues from Caldaira which is its port. We captured the watch about one third of our way along, and they told us that besides the inhabitants of the town five hundred men had come from Carthage to help them. These they had called for when our two barques anchoring in the bay gave them the alarm. This compelled us, considering we were so few in numbers, to put off this expedition to another time. We retraced our steps, but in such sore need

of provisions were we, that we were forced to kill and eat the sentinels' horses, after four days of very severe fasting. This feast, which was not the first that we had made of such meat, was not the last either.

Caldaira Bay.

Caldaira is a bay which bears the name of six store-houses which are about three leagues to the east of its mouth on the bank of the Esparse wharf. This bay, which some geographers call Nueya is one of the finest harbours in the world. Its entrance is not very wide, but to make up for this, it runs at least twelve leagues inland, and contains a great many islands of different sizes. Of all the winds that blow, only that from the east can give trouble. The end of the bay is opened by some excellent rivers that flow into it, whereby one may proceed to several towns and sugar factories, for this country is all filled with them. A ship can choose its anchorage according to the length of its cables, that is to say from six fathoms increasing by five up to a hundred, and the bottom is always very good. I forgot to observe that the six warehouses of Caldaira of which I have just spoken were partly built by the inhabitants of Carthage who also use this wharf for convenience of the trade they used to carry on with the people of the coast of Panama before we came to frighten them.

The filibusters discover the copra tree.

On the 10th, having re-embarked in our boats, we made for a great banana plantation which is in the same bay. This was a plantation of the the fruit trees which are called banana trees and their fruit bananas. We loaded our boats with them for our subsistance. When we landed, we captured the watch of the little city of Nueya, but since we perceived that we were still some distance away, we decided not to go there for the present and made for Borica Point which we reached on the 15th. This is a very pleasant and agreeable place. Among other things, we admired an avenue of five rows of cocoanut palms which go along the side of the bay for more than fifteen leagues, with as much symmetry as though it were not a simple work of nature. Without any help from art, they seem to have been planted in a line.

This fruit, which upon so many occasions gave us pleasure, grows upon a tree that is a kind of palm twenty to twenty-four feet high. It has the shape of a nut, but there is nothing to compare with it for size, since there are some that weigh from twelve to fifteen pounds. It has a shell that is both very hard and thick, and is covered with a great covering

of fibre which the Spaniards use to caulk their ships, it being incomparably better than tow, which does not last a year in the water without becoming rotten, while the other feeds upon the water and grows green again. When a hole has been made in this nut, a large glassful of a liquor comes from it. This nearly resembles whey in colour, but its taste is slightly sharp and very pleasant. When the shell is broken, a substance as thick as a finger is found, very white and nourishing. This is sticky and very firmly attached to the inside.

They keep along the coast.

On the 20th, we left that place, still continuing our way along the mainland.

On the 22nd, having nothing more to eat, we sent ashore sixty men in three boats to find something. After we had gone a league, we captured a very fine *hatte* with two prisoners who told us that we were a league and a half from the little town of Chiriquita, where there were seven hundred men. This news made us pick up what victuals we could and make off with them to our boats, but on our way back we found four hundred horsemen, who had cut off our retreat and were waiting for us. As we retired to the shore, we fought them all the time, but had only one man wounded, in the finger. They shouted to us to come on, and with threats defied us to go to their town, in which we did not fail to satisfy them some days later. However, we went on our way to the island of San Juan, and reaching there on the 1st of January 1686, we found our ship and our two barques at anchor.

Return to the island of San Juan. Jan. 1st. 1686.

On the 5th, we set out with eight boats and two hundred and thirty men to go and face these men of Chiriquita and pay them the visit which they had defied us to do. The island of San Juan not being more than about twenty leagues distant from them, we went ashore on the 6th, about 10 or 12 o'clock at night, without being perceived. As we had no guide, we marched until dawn without seeing anybody. All through the day of the 7th we lay hidden in a wood, whence, so soon as night had fallen, we came out and resumed our march. But, at dawn on the 8th, we had seen no more than we had done the night before. Again we hid ourselves in a little spinney, and spent the whole day there, during which we came to realise that we had made a mistake, and had landed on one side of the river when we should have gone to the other. This was cold comfort to

men as wearied as we were, but none the less we did not fail, as soon as it was dark, to return to our boats and cross the river. As soon as we reached the other side, we caught the town watch, and he told us that the Spaniards had made off with all their goods, since we had been at their *hattes*.

The small town of Chiriquita taken by surprise.

On the 9th, we reached Chiriquita two hours before daybreak. We took by surprise all the inhabitants who had spent two days in disputing between themselves as to who should go the rounds ; and having made sure of their persons, we told them that going the rounds was a matter for us to attend to, and that we had come to save them the trouble At the same time, we surprised their guards at play. Immediately they saw us among them, they dashed for their arms to defend themselves, but as it was a little too late, we spared them that trouble also. From them we learned that there was a little frigate in the offing, which, having grounded upon a sand bank at the mouth when it was leaving, had been obliged to put back and land the victuals with which it had been laden.

A Spanish ambush.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, we saw some Spaniards at a house some distance from the town, and five of us went to fetch them out. But when we drew near the house, those whom we had seen appear having shown themselves only to draw us on, disappeared, and at the same moment a hundred and twenty others came out from some thickets where they had lain hidden, and so beset us that seeing no hopes of getting back, we resolved not to be taken alive and to sell our lives dearly. First we set ourselves back to back so as to face them either way, and so fought them for more than an hour and a half. At the end of this time, there remained but two of us in a fit state to continue, when God granted that our men who were at the guardroom came to our aid, being drawn rather by the cries the Spaniards uttered to put fear into us rather than by the sound of firearms, because, before, when they had heard these cries, they had thought we were practising firing at a mark. When the enemy saw the reinforcement that was coming to us, they ran away so quickly that it was impossible to catch them. This help which arrived at so opportune a moment, undoubtedly saved our lives, for our enemy, having already killed two men and maimed another, it would have been impossible for us to hold out longer against the hail of shots which they poured upon us from all sides. So I

may say that I had indeed a narrow escape, and that I was preserved from massacre without even being wounded, only by the manifest protection of Heaven.

As for the Spaniards, they got away with the loss of thirty men, so desperately did we defend ourselves, in fact like filibusters.

A Flute, cargo vessel, under sail. (Engraving by Randon.)

That same day, we burned all the houses in the town, fearing lest under cover thereof, the enemy might surprise our sentinels. After that we withdrew into the main church where they dared not to attack us, contenting themselves with firing their muskets at it from time to time, and that from very far away.

Chiriquita is a little town situated in a plain of savannahs, from which the view is bounded only by pleasant little woods. Several small rivers cut their way through it in different places, and roll softly through these

savannahs to water them. It is surrounded by a certain number of *hattes*, and has no other traffic but in tallow and hides : its wharf is upon a fairly large river and can be reached after about a league ; there is only one channel at its mouth, and the Spaniards themselves would not venture to enter it without a buoy. When one has landed at this wharf, there are still three leagues before the town is reached, and that by so fine a road that it could seem wearisome only to men like ourselves who simply thought of a way to secure some victuals to appease the hunger which weighed so heavily upon us when we went along it to go and seize that town. We had been without food from the 5th when we left our ships, until the 9th, when we captured it.

The prisoners taken in the neighbourhood of Chiriquita held to ransom.

On the 10th, we set out with the prisoners whom we had taken, to await their ransom upon an island in the same river, choosing these places rather than the mainland, for being obliged to stay longer on account of the delays which the Spaniards made, we might have given them time to collect their forces and pay us all at once, by overwhelming numbers. Whereas, on these islands to which they could only come by boat and openly, we could have saved them the trouble of re-embarking, should they have set foot on land.

When we were returning to our boats which awaited us at the wharf of Chiriquita, we met with an ambush which the inhabitants of that town had laid for us to cut us off. We forced it, and when the enemy had withdrawn they sent a flag of truce to ask for their prisoners whom they said they would have or die in the attempt. We answered that we were ready to give them up if they would come into the open and take them. If they should fire a single shot, we told them, there would be no quarter for them. This so weighed upon their pride that they did not appear again.

As soon as we had reached the island, we sent some of our boats to find the cargo of the little frigate which the Spaniards had told us of. They found there more than a hundred men entrenched, who, none the less, could not prevent them from carrying off that which they had come to find. Among the baggage they found letters, which told us, among other things, that the admiral of the Peru fleet which had returned to Lima, had been burned with her crew which then numbered four hundred

men, by a thunderbolt, in the harbour of Callao. It was a thing more surprising and prodigious for in that country, thunder had never been heard within the memory of man, nor had it ever been seen to rain.

On the 16th, the ransom of our prisoners arrived. When we had set them free, we returned on board our ship which was still anchored off San Juan. On the 20th, we decided that it was necessary for us to build some large pirogues, for we could make no more use of our ship. It had no sails, nor had we anything to make them of. Still less could we think of capturing vessels from the Spaniards on this western coast for they had completely ceased their navigations since we had been busy there. On the 22nd, we made choice of trees from which to make our boats and pirogues. This we did on the banks of a very fine river which we knew to be upon the island.

The Peru Fleet sighted from the island of San Juan.

On the 27th, we perceived seven sail out at sea, and fitted out five boats to go and find out what they were, and as we were doubling one of the points of the island, we saw twelve pirogues and three long barques, going the round of it and hugging the shore. This we took to be the Peru fleet on the watch for us. We immediately went to give warning to our people, and without delay it was decided that everything we had upon the ship should be put into two barques and that we should go up the river where our boats were being made, and await our enemies in a place where they could not attack us without themselves suffering great loss. This project was carried out forthwith, and leaving our ship which could not be brought into the river, we ran her ashore so that the Spaniards should not be able to profit by her, setting her again in a state fit for sailing, for we knew well enough that they were not short of sails for that purpose, as we were.

The filibusters elude attack.

On the 28th, our sentinel came to warn us that six pirogues were coming along the shore. At the same time, we laid an ambush of a hundred and fifty men along both sides of the river, and then came out with two of our boats. After coming within sight of them we pretended to wish to run away, going back up the river to force them to come after us, but, suspecting the trap, they went straight to our stranded ship and opened a very heavy fire upon it, though there was no one on board except a cat which we had left there. When they had made sure of this, they very

valiantly burned the ship for its iron which is a commodity as rare as it is dear in certain parts of Peru. On the 1st of February the Spanish fleet departed, leaving us in peace to finish our work, whereon we spent the rest of the month.

We learned afterwards that the orders of the admiral of this fleet were to land cannon to demolish the fortifications which we were supposed to have made upon the island. He had been induced to form this opinion by the reports which he had had from the prisoners we had sent back to them after first deceiving them by asking them, when they were taken, if any among them were masons who could work for us, sometimes even compelling them to provide bricks as their ransom, although there was nothing for which we could use them. In the month of February, fourteen of our men died.

Plan to attack Granada, April, 1686.

On the 14th of March, we left the island of San Juan with our two barques, a half-galley of forty oars, ten large pirogues and four light boats, all of mangrove wood, with the exception of our two barques. We made the headland to windward of the island, and there reviewed our forces which were less by thirty men since our separation from the English. At the same time, we again formed the design which had now been interrupted for more than four months, to go and capture the city of Granada, about two hundred leagues from where we were. For that purpose we should need provisions whereon to live during the voyage, and of these we had none, which forced us to detach our half-galley and four boats to go to find some at Pueblo Nuevo. while the rest of us went to wait at the island of Saint-Pierre, which is two leagues to windward of the Chiriquita river, there to complete certain work upon the boats.

On the 6th of April, three hours before the break of day, having arrived before the river of Pueblo Nuevo, a beautiful moonlight night, we perceived a little frigate at the mouth, with a long barque and a pirogue. These we approached to within pistol shot, thinking they were the English filibusters from whom we had parted, but we were soon undeceived, for, after hailing them, they replied with a full volley of cannon, swivel guns and muskets, which made us conjecture that it must be, as was only too true. a detachment which the Spanish fleet had left in that place (when they had left us in the island of San Juan), to guard two little boats

which we knew were loading victuals at the wharf of that town to carry them to Panama. Our mistake caused us to have twenty men put out of action by the first discharge, before we knew where we were. However, recovering somewhat from our surprise, we began a keen and bitter engagement with them that lasted for two hours, though we had nothing but our muskets, and not a single piece of artillery, while they, on their side, defended themselves the more vigorously because they believed that having taken us by surprise they could the more readily make us give way. During the fight they did all they could to make ready, but this we would not have, allowing no one to appear in their shrouds without immediately shooting him down, and their grenadiers too, who were in the tops. But seeing that the moon was waning, we withdrew out of range of their guns, both to tend our wounded who numbered thirty-three, besides four who were killed, and to wait for daylight to settle this business in which we did not intend to come off the worst. During this time however, the enemy sought cover in the entrenchment which I have already said they possessed on the bank of this river, where those on shore, who had heard the fighting during the night, had already taken refuge. This made us conclude that if we went to attack them there we should not have all the advantage which we had determined to have of them, so that when day did come, we set off to rejoin our boats at the island of San Pedro, which we reached on the eighth.

On the 9th, we found ourselves in desperate need of food, having nothing at all to eat. This made us suffer greatly, particularly the wounded of us, whom we sent by our half-galley for their greater comfort on board the two barques which we had arranged to meet in the bay of Boca-del-Toro. After that, we landed at a town ten leagues to leeward of Chiriquita to try to find provisions there, but finding none, we left again, and on the 11th, on our way to rejoin our boats, we found, to strengthen us in the despondency to which hunger reduced us, the delights of an ambush of five hundred men. Despite our weakness we did not fail to defend ourselves, so well indeed that we compelled them to leave our way open, though not without the loss of two of our men. That evening we re-embarked to rejoin our barques in the bay of Boca-del-Toro, and arrived there on the 13th. We landed and spent our time until the 16th in hunting,

Preparations for this expedition begin.

chiefly for food for our wounded, finding in abundance there the same wild beasts of which I have spoken in my description of the crossing of the mainland.

The same day, the 16th, we left for the bay of Caldeira, having renewed our enterprise upon the little town of Lesparse of which I have already spoken. On the 19th, having reached that bay, we went on shore two hours before dawn, and arrived at that little town about eleven o'clock in the morning. We found it almost abandoned since we had captured its watch, who, as I have said, took away our appetite to go there when they told us of the reinforcement that had come from Carthage. Nevertheless we took a few prisoners, and these told us that everybody had withdrawn to this last town which is distant twenty-four leagues So, our pains being in vain, we returned on the 20th to the shore to join our boat.

The three leagues from Lesparse to the sea shore are over a miserable road. Not even the distance of a musket shot is level and easy ground, for it is all rough and covered with little mountains and hills. Beyond it, however, the countryside is very pleasant to look upon.

The town is built upon a height, from which it is easy to see whatever enters or leaves the bay. It is encircled by a small river which flows all round it, and on the Carthage side, there are magnificent plains, with royal roads crossing them, as well made as any in Europe.

On the 21st, we gathered supplies of fruits from the banana plantation in the bay, wherein our two barques came to join us.

On the 22nd, we brought our men ashore on one of the islands in the bay, both to decide the manner of our attack upon Granada, and to take stock of the powder they had, for we were afraid that several had used theirs up hunting. Then we made laws for ourselves whereby we condemned to lose their part of whatever should be taken in that place all those who should be convicted of cowardice, rape, drunkenness, disobedience, or of having broken away without due orders. Then we left the bay that evening, and during the night a wind that got up from the east separated us one from the other. At daybreak we counted thirteen sail, which astonished us, for we knew there were but twelve in all our fleet. We signalled to our boats to give chase with us to that which seemed to be the stranger. and when we had chased it for about an hour, we discovered five more,

We came up to the first and found that it was that of Captain Townsley who had come from the coast of Acapulte. He had left his ship at the cape against the opening of the bay in which we were, and was going with his five boats to find bananas (as we had just been doing, for he was very short of provisions). He told us that Captain David had gone

Unexpected meeting with the English captain Townsley.

A vessel of the first class flying the admiral's flag. (Engraving by Randon.)

to the south coast with his fleet, and Captain Suams to the islands with the frigate.

We were now the stronger, and remembering the tricks that he had served us, to show our resentment, we took him prisoner and the other four boats with him. We also boarded his ship and took possession of it, pretending that we were going to make off with it (our purpose, however, was only to give them a fright). We let them remain in this apprehension

The "vengeance" of the French filibusters

for some time, after which we gave them to understand that we were honester men than they, and though we had the upper hand, we did not mean to profit by our advantage and revenge ourselves, and that we gave back to him and his men what we had taken from them four or five hours before. This generosity, and the facts that he had learned from some of our men the design we had formed to capture Granada caused him to beg us to allow him and the hundred and fifteen Englishmen he had with him, to join us, and to this we agreed.

On the 25th, we all set out together, French and English, in our pirogues and boats, leaving our two barques and their ship in the shelter of Cape Blanc which is twenty leagues to windward of the place where we were to land, ordering those who were to watch over them, to leave six days after us and follow the coast, then to anchor wherever they should see that we had left our boats.

The attack upon Granada.

On the 7th of April, we went ashore on the open coast, three hundred and forty-six men. We had a very clever guide to direct us, and he led us through the woods so that we might escape being seen. So we marched until the 9th, by day and night, but, in spite of our precautions, we were seen by some people from Granada who were fishing in a river about fifteen leagues away. Though they ran to give warning of our coming to the Spaniards, they would not have had time enough to get away with all their wealth, with us upon their heels as we were, if unfortunately for us, they had not been warned three weeks before by the people of Lesparse, who, having seen our boats passing in great numbers, had guessed our design.

Our great hunger and the weariness that our march caused us, compelled us, on the evening of the 9th, to lie at a sugar factory which is only four leagues from Granada, and was upon our way thither. It belonged to a Chevalier de Saint-Iago, whom we failed to take prisoner when we reached there, our legs being in no condition to run after him. On the 10th, we left there and, as we drew near the town, saw from an eminence which is only a league away, two ships upon the lake of Nicaragua which, we found afterwards, were carrying away all the wealth of Granada to an island two leagues distant. We took a prisoner in a village on our way, and he told us that the inhabitants had entrenched themselves at

the place of arms, and had put a strong wall round it, since our quartermaster who had surrendered himself to them, had warned them that we might go there. He told us also that this place was furnished with fourteen guns and six swivel guns, and finally, that they had detailed six troops of horse to attack our rear at the same time that our van began the attack upon them, if so be that we should go to them.

This information, which would certainly have stricken with terror any other but filibusters, did not make us hesitate a moment, nor did it prevent our reaching the town about two o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as we entered the outskirts, we came upon a strong ambush, but this we dealt with so firmly that after an hour's struggle, we passed over all those who composed it without any more loss on our side than that of one man. Then we entered the town, and there halted to await news from several of our men whom we had detailed to make observation of the neighbourhood of a fort which we saw straight before us in the street by which we had entered. Presently, some of them returned to tell us that the fort was square and that, besides the street in which we were, they had observed three others which opened upon the three other faces of this fort, so that our enemy could see everything that came to them through these avenues, which, moreover, were all commanded by their guns and muskets.

We did not take long to consult over our course of action : it was easy for us to see that we were too few in numbers to attack from these different directions at once, so, having recalled the remainder of those we had sent to spy out the place, (they had been delayed by some slight skirmish), we all got ready to attack along the single road which we had taken at first, and it was well we did so, for if we had dispersed ourselves along the others, the troops of horse at our rear, which were watching us, would not have failed to surround us. This they did not dare to do so long as they saw us all together.

After having exhorted one another to fight bravely, we advanced smartly towards this fortified place. As soon as those who defended it saw us within good range, they opened a hot fire upon us, but seeing that to all their gun shot, we paid the compliment of bowing even to the ground to let the ball and grape shot pass over us, they thought fit to

make use of false priming, so that when we got up after this pretence, we might be surprised to find ourselves met with a perfectly good volley. When we realised this stratagem, we kept to the sides of the houses, and reaching a slight elevation which was the lawn of some garden, we fought from there in the open for an hour and a half till they were obliged to yield the ground to us. And we, bold fellows that we were, gave them every assistance to that end, from just below their walls, smothering them with the grenades which we hurled at them incessantly, and finally forced them to the principal church, from whose tower they succeeded in wounding some of our men. Immediately our men upon the heights saw that the enemy were giving way, they called to us to jump over the walls, and this we did, they following close upon our heels. In this way we made ourselves masters of the place of arms, and so of the town itself, whence they fled after having lost a great part of their forces. We had but four killed and eight wounded, though to tell the truth, few of the wounded recovered. When we had entered this fort, we found it great enough to hold 6,000 men. It was surrounded by a wall, as the prisoner had told us, pierced by a number of loopholes which they had well supplied with men and muskets. The front that looked upon the street by which we had attacked them was guarded by two guns and four swivel guns to defend the approach, without counting several other openings at the foot of the wall (through which they had passed billhooks to cut off the legs of those who would have come too close), but these we made useless with the help of the grenades which prevented the defenders from making use of them.

Capture of the town.

After having sung *Te Deum* in the principal church, and posted four sentinels in the tower, we set our guards in well built houses which were also enclosed in the place of arms, and gathered in them all the ammunition that was there. Then we made a search through the houses of the town, but in them found only some merchandise and food which we took to the post of our guard.

On the following evening, we detailed a party of a hundred and fifty men to go and find the women that we might set a ransom upon them, and some booty, which, we had been told, was with them in a sugar factory two leagues from the town. When the men reached there, however, they were gone, not considering themselves safe in that place, and the

party returned without any result. The same day we sent a prisoner to the Spaniards to demand ransom for the town, failing which, we would burn it. They sent a *padre* or monk to parley, who told us that the officers and the inhabitants would meet to deliberate the matter. But one of our people whom they had captured, and whom weariness had made to lag upon the road (without he who was acting as officer of the rearguard perceiving it) assured them that we should not burn it, for it was our purpose to go back again to the Northern sea some months afterwards by the lake, and secure in that town the things we needed for that passage, which we should not have found if we had set fire to it. This fellow having so reassured them, they took no more pains to answer our proposition that they should buy the town back, which obliged some of our people, the most determined, to set fire to it out of spite.

The opportunity which we then had to go back to the Northern sea by this lake which empties itself therein, would at that time have been very favourable to us, and we should not have failed to take it, if we had found our boats in this place so that we could have seized the two ships and the riches of that town, which they had taken for safety to the island which, as I have said before, is in the same lake. This would have completely consoled us for the disappointment which had lasted ever since we failed to take the fleet before Panama. But the term of suffering and danger which our destiny held in store for us was not yet over ; we were not able to take advantage of so promising an opportunity to escape from those parts, which, though very charming and agreeable to those who are settled there, did not seem so in the least to a small handful of men like ourselves, without ships, the greater part of the time without food, wandering about amid a host of enemies against whom we had to be continually on our guard, who took from us as well as they could, the very means of subsistence.

Granada is a large and spacious town, situated in a bottom, as one approaches it from the coast of the Southern sea. Its churches are magnificent and its houses well built. There are several religious houses for both sexes. The cathedral is at one end of the place of arms. There is but little water in the neighbouring country, there being none except only that of the lake of Nicaragua upon which the town is built. In the neighbourhood there are several fine sugar factories, which seem more like

little towns than single houses, among others that which belonged to the Chevalier de Saint-Iago (at which we had spent the night on our way to the town), in which there is a very pretty and wealthy church.

Spanish attacks

On the 15th, we left the town, taking with us a piece of cannon and four swivel guns, thinking it very like that we should meet with opposition on our way, before we reached the sea shore, which was twenty leagues away. In this we were not mistaken, for the Spaniards, with 2,560 men, were waiting for us a quarter of a league from the town. They began by opening fire upon us, but since it never occurred to them that we had brought artillery with us, they were so overcome thereby, that when we had fired two shots into their first ambuscade, they left us the road clear, but in this place only. Although they saw many of their men lying in the dust, they did not cease, all day through, to lay fresh ambushes for us, in one place after another, wherein they had no greater success than in the first. We captured one of their men, who told us that in the Condador's house of Granada, there were a million and a half pieces of eight, which had long been set apart for the ransom of the town in case it should be captured. The treasure, he told us, was buried in the wall, in such a way that its presence might not be suspected. But we had no desire to go back and look for this money, for we were busied enough in escaping from the hands of a number of enemies as great as that with which we had to deal already.

In the evening, we were obliged to abandon our cannon, after we had spiked it, because the oxen that were pulling it died of thirst, after working through a great heat, without a drop of water and through a dust that stifled both men and beasts. But we carried off the swivel guns, loading them upon mules who were better able to bear so unpleasant a load than we were. Then, we lay at a very pretty village called Massaya on the shore of the lake, but from this place to the water's edge, so great is the descent, that from the top a man appears no taller than a child. The Indians there received us with open arms, but the Spaniards who had withdrawn, knowing the terrible thirst which tormented us, had poured away all the water there had been in the town, hoping thereby to reduce us to the necessity of going by night to draw some from the lake when they might catch us in an ambuscade. But the Indians who cast themselves at our

CHATOYER the CHIEF of the BLACK CHARAIBES in S.t VINCENT with his five WIVES.

Drawn from the life by Agostino Brunyas – 1773 From an original painting in the possession of Sir Wm Young Bart. F.R.S

feet and begged us not to burn their town, remedied this, telling us that they would supply all that we needed so long as we should stay there, especially the water. This submission caused us to grant their request, the more readily as they had, on different occasions, showed us that they were more our friends than the Spaniards'.

The filibusters saved by Indians of the village of Massaya.

All these Indians are wretched creatures whom the Spaniards endeavour to subject gradually by a show of kindness, so as to make them forget the tyrannies which have been practised over them. But they fail not to remember, none the less. At present they have a number whom they have brought down from the mountains in which they took refuge, and have in this way, gained their submission. They give them sites whereon to build towns and villages, but all their labour turns to the advantage of the Spaniards. Consequently, serving, as they do, like slaves, they are so weary of the domination and the barbarity they have to suffer, such as being used as pallisades when there is fighting, that had we been inclined to receive them every time they offered to join our side, we could have made of them a considerable army. It is certain that if they had arms and methods of protection, they would infallibly shake off the yoke of the pitiless tyrants who domineer over them, being three times as numerous as the Spaniards.

We spent but one day at this town to succour our wounded, whereof two died of cramps that had contracted all their nerves. So terrible is this sickness in these countries that when it attacks a stranger who is wounded, he never recovers. The same day there came to us a *padre*, to ask on behalf of the Spaniards for another *padre* who was among our prisoners; he had been captured sword in hand with pockets full of poisoned bullets We asked in exchange the man whom they had taken from us, but this he was not prepared to grant, so that we took the *padre* with us to the sea shore.

On the 17th, we left that town and lay at another three leagues beyond. On the 18th, we set off again, and as we were leaving the forest and entering the plain, we saw, upon a height, five hundred men awaiting us, commanded by that Catalonian quartermaster who had deserted us. They had hoisted the red flag to let us know that they would give no quarter, which forced us to furl our white flags and unfurl red ones as well as them-

selves. We marched straight upon them without opening fire, though they fired heavily upon us. When we were within musket range, we despatched our shock troops to put them to rout, which was done with great vigour. We took from them more than fifty horses, and as they fled, they left, like the cowards they were, part of their arms behind them, with their dead and wounded, from whom we learned that they were the reinforcement which the town of Leon had sent to Granada against us, and were now returning home. After having rested about an hour, we continued on our way and lay at a town from which the inhabitants had withdrawn. On the 19th, we lay at a *hatte;* on the 20th, at an estancia, where we stayed some days to rest after the fatigues of our journey, and to salt meat to take on board our ships, on which we were sure victuals must now be short. I, with a detachment of fifty men, went forward to warn those who were looking after them of our return.

Reinforcements from Leon are put to flight.

On the 26th, the remainder of our men reached the sea and we all re-embarked. We learned that four of our people who had been wounded at the fight at Porto Nuevo were dead, more of hunger than from their wounds.

Return to the Coast and re-embarkation.

On the 27th we made for Realeguo, where we anchored in the harbour about the 30th. When we went ashore, the sentinels of Pueblo Viejo saw us. None the less we did not fail to hasten there, reaching there at midday, while the Spaniards who had just been warned, were running away in all directions. But in this country the heat is so excessive that, at this hour, the earth is too hot to walk upon, and we were more concerned to find shade or a tuft of grass to set foot on, than to run after them. However, we took a hundred prisoners there, nearly all women. We only stayed there two days, and after collecting provisions from the houses, while a detachment that we had sent to find horses brought us back a hundred, we set out on the 1st of May, and brought the victuals to the Realeguo river, where our boats then took them to the ships. Meanwhile, we went off in search of others, so that we might store up a certain quantity rather than consume them always as we secured them.

On the 2nd, we took six cauldrons from a sugar factory and carried them off the next day. On the 4th, we set out for a town two leagues from Realeguo, called Ginandego, whose inhabitants some days before,

had invited us in mockery to go and see them, trusting themselves secure defended by two hundred men, behind an entrenchment, which closed the road to that town.

We reached there at daybreak on the 5th, but the sentinel having espied us, immediately warned the Spaniards, who did not wait to be

A Ship being laid up. (Engraving by Ozanne.)

asked, but after firing a few musket shots, made off. We, to punish their boastings, burned their town to the ground.

We took one prisoner, and from him learned that the Corregidor of Leon, who wished to rid that land of us, had given orders to all the Tenientes, that as soon as we appeared in any place, they were to burn all the food supplies, which order, to our misfortune, was only too well carried out, not only in this place, but everywhere, which was the cause of the hunger and labour beyond all measure which we suffered so long as we remained upon that sea.

The Spaniards attempt to starve out the Brothers of the Coast.

About noon the same day, there appeared in a savannah about eight hundred men from the fort of Leon who would attack us. The sentinel

whom we had posted in the steeple of this town, sounded the alarm bell to call us from out the houses in which we were dispersed.

A hundred and fifty men of us ran to meet them with red flags, but as they always made off and would not allow us to come within range, we were obliged to retire, and, on the 6th, we set off to re-embark once more. On the 7th, we careened and cleaned our boats.

A month's sojourn in the island of La Puana. June, 1686.

The best winter quarters we had upon that sea, and those wherein we stayed longest, were those of our sojourn upon the island of Puana, where we enjoyed excellent fare for the thirty odd days that we remained there. Besides the food that the Spaniards every day brought to us from Queaquilla, we had ourselves taken some refreshment there. Nor did we lack music, for among our prisoners, we had all the town band with lutes, theorbos, guitars, harps and other instruments which I have never seen elsewhere, wherewith they gave us a very pleasant concert.

Scenes of gallantry.

Some of our people even formed bonds of friendship with our lady prisoners. These, not waiting to be forced, were not sparing of their favours, and let it be seen, as I have already observed, that when once they had come to know the French nation, they did not retain all that aversion to it which had been instilled in them before they made its acquaintance.

All our people were so delighted with this life that they forgot past sufferings and gave no more thought to the Spaniards than if we had been safe in the middle of Paris.

In the midst of this I had an adventure. Among our prisoners was a young lady, lately widowed of the treasurer of the town, who had been killed when we captured it. She seemed so well consoled, through that lack of affection with which people regard one another in this country, that she proposed to me that we should hide in some part of the island until our people had left it, and then she would take me to Queaquilla to marry her. She promised me her husband's post, and was ready to put me in possession of the great wealth that was hers. I thanked her for such a flattering offer, but made known to her that I feared her credit would not overcome the resentment of the Spaniards, and that the wound which they had just received from us was still too fresh and too recent to be so promptly forgotten. She tried to cure me of that fear by securing from the governor and the principal officers, written promises of good

treatment which she placed in my hands. I own that I was somewhat shaken by such pressing testimony of kindness and friendship, and at the moment, when I wondered what course I should pursue, I found myself much inclined to take what was offered. Two strong reasons inclined me to do so. One was the wretched, languishing kind of life that we led in

Filibusters before Gayaquil.

these places, where we were constantly in danger of losing it, a situation from which I could escape with the added advantages of a pretty wife and a considerable establishment. The other was my despair of ever being able to return to my native land, for lack of a ship which was capable of going there. But when I had thought the matter over more at leisure, and reflected upon the little confidence that could be placed in the promises and good faith of a nation so perfidious and vindictive as the Spanish, especially towards men of our calling by whom they had been so hardly

used, this reflection carried the day over the first, and over all the fair promises that the lady had held out to me.

In any case, despite the grief and tears of the agreeable Spaniard, I made up my mind to continue my troubles, for there came to me a ray of hope that I might see France again, and I should always have been afraid of some treason, had I stayed. So I let her go, after assuring her that I should remember her affection all my life, and be ever grateful for her good will towards me.

Costumes worn by slaves and Freed-womne in the Colonies.

THE RETURN TO THE « NORTHERN SEA » THAT IS TO SAY, THE ATLANTIC OCEAN (1)

The filibustering companions of Ravenau de Lussan allowed some of their number to set off for Europe through the straits of Magellan. Those who remained had also, when some months had passed, to begin their return journey. Every great adventure must some day come to an end.

They decided to return by way of land, crossing Nicaragua and New Segovia, so to reach the shores of the Atlantic Ocean.

A party of eighteen hardy fellows went forward to decide the route to be taken, and very quickly came up against the little town of Chicoteca which was guarded by four hundred men. The eighteen lads fought like so many devils, and captured the town. The road was open. The filibusters, who now numbered no more than four hundred and eighty fighting men, shared the spoil of gold coin and jewels, and set off on their way. But this division did not last for long, for the jewels and doubloons of Spain were lost and shared anew at the gambling table, this time unequally.

Ravenau de Lussan had kept his share which amounted to *thirty thousand piastres in gold, pearls, jewels and precious stones.* But the inequality with which the booty had now been divided was contrary to all the rules of the Custom of the Coast, and Ravenau de Lussan tells us in his memoirs that a plot was formed. *Eighteen of those whom the luck of the play had most despoiled had determined to massacre those who were rich, and to seize their treasure. But their plot was discovered, and its execution forestalled by wise precautions. The rich, and I did as they, for it was the only means of saving our heads, in the presence of all the troop, spread out all that they possessed, and shared it again among the poor, on condition that each of them, after we were happily returned to Saint Domingo, should restore to the owners two thirds of what they took.*

They then set out to return to the Caribbean sea. The departure took place on New Year's Day in the year of grace 1688. Boats, utensils,

(1) We have here summed up that part of the Memoirs of Ravenau de Lussan in which the author describes the stages of his return to the Caribbean Sea. After two months marching and fighting, the filibusters came to the Madeleine river. Thanks to this watercourse they were able to " go down " to the Atlantic Ocean and regain Saint Domingo.

The filibusters leave the shores of the Southern Sea on Jan. 1st 1688 on their return by land to the Atlantic ocean.

furniture had all been burned, the guns spiked, and all that each man took with him was a small knapsack wherein, among a few belongings, was his little treasure. The column was divided into four companies, with a convoy of sixty-eight horses for the supplies. The whole of Guatemala had to be crossed, as they pressed forwards always towards the East. The Spaniards never ceased to harass the filibusters, cutting down trees, tearing up the roads, burning savannahs *to smoke out the Brothers of the Coast.*

A Brother of the Coast.

Ambuscade after ambuscade was laid for them, and each time the filibusters lost several men.

After eleven days marching and fighting, the column reached New Segovia. But the town was completely deserted; the inhabitants had fled leaving absolutely nothing behind, and the filibusters only stayed there twenty-four hours. As they emerged from a valley, the column came upon an entrenched camp that barred their way, and the only way to pass beyond it was to take it by main force, well supplied with defenders though it was. After a moment's hesitation, the filibusters

decided to send forward their little convoy with eighty men, and under cover of darkness, the rest were to climb over the mountains and attack the Spanish army in the rear. The hidalgos, in the face of an attack both violent and unforeseen, gave ground. Then the most complete disorder reigned in this semi-fortress ; the filibusters forced their way in and mercilessly massacred their enemies. They themselves had but one man killed and two wounded. The Brothers of the Coast were astounded to gain so easy a victory.

During this time, the guard that was protecting the filibusters' convoy was attacked by a detachment of three hundred Spaniards. These hastened to send an envoy to invite the filibusters to surrender, promising that if they would disarm, they should be taken under escort to the Northern sea. The filibusters proudly replied that they would not yield. The attack took its course, and the filibusters, having seen their comrades' victory, charged the Spaniards and completely routed them.

It was only on the sixteenth day that, eating their horses for lack of all other food, the filibusters reached the river which, flowing eastwards, was to bring them to the sea. This little river is undoubtedly the Madeleine, which rises in the mountains of New Segovia. Ravenau de Lussan does not give it a name, but says that its course is continually interrupted by terrible rapids. How were our filibusters to descend so tumultuous a stream? They followed an Indian practice, making canoes of wicker or rather of bark, each of which would hold two men, and guiding themselves by poles : *the smallness, the shape and mobility of these machines being such that it was absolutely necessary to stand up in them, holding long poles by the aid whereof they withstood the current, and kept as far as possible away from the rocks which would have broken the fragile craft.* They set out, and many of the filibusters perished by drowning : rapids which they could not hope to pass in such boats, compelled them to make long marches, dragging the canoes after them, battling against the forest whose undergrowth impeded their progress.

The long journey continued, marked each day by the disappearance of one or several Brothers of the Coast. Famine added its terrors to the hardships of such an expedition, and their only food was obtained from the banana trees which grew abundantly upon the banks. In spite of so much

common suffering, there were outbursts of hatred between the filibusters *of different nations*, and these were fed by the passion for gambling. Six English adventurers having lost their last crown at lansquesnet, decided to rob some of their comrades, and massacred five Frenchmen who were supposed to be the wealthiest.

Finally, on the 20th of February, fifty-nine days after the departure, the party found a real improvement in the course of the river, and there were but *sixty French leagues* to go before they came to the sea. Eighty-four filibusters had perished (1).

The river widens.

On the 20th of February, we found the river wider and more spacious than before, and no longer did we come upon such falls ; but it was blocked by such a quantity of trees and bamboos which the floods had brought down, that our wretched craft could not be kept from overturning from time to time. Still, the depth in this part moderating its swiftness, we had but few drowned.

At last, when we had gone a few leagues farther, we found it much better, with a more gentle current and less promise of rocks and trees, though there were still more than 60 leagues to go before we reached the sea. So, finding ourselves freed from the dangers and perils which we had incurred in passages so terrible that the image of death was ever before our eyes, each of us went forward with renewed strength, having good hopes for so much of the journey as was left. Accordingly, we came together in that place, and when we had decided in what manner we would complete our descent to the sea, we broke up into parties of forty men apiece, to make boats of the mangrove trees which abounded along the banks of that river.

The filibusters make boats and reach the sea. March 1688.

On the 1st of March, having with extreme diligence finished four boats to hold a hundred and twenty men, for that was the number in our section, we launched them, and embarked without waiting for the other hundred and forty men to finish theirs. It was the eager desire with which we burned for reassurance in our doubt whether we should ever really reach the Northern sea that made us go before them, for from the idea we had of the way we had taken, we feared to fall again into the Southern

(1) Here we continue in the words of Ravenau de Lussan himself.

sea, not daring to think ourselves fortunate enough to get back to a sea whence we could regain the homes for which we had so long been sighing.

The Englishmen, who had not troubled to make boats, had reached the sea before us. There they found a ship from Jamaica at anchor, and they would gladly have had that ship go for them to the governor of that island to ask for them an assurance that they might return, for they had

Ravenau and his Companions caught in the Rapids.

left it without any commission. But the ship would not do so for less than six thousand pounds sterling, paid in advance, and they were by no means in a position to risk such a sum, for the majority of them had lost, as many of us had done, the money which they had meant to bring, through the upsetting of their frail craft. So they stayed with the Moustique Indians who live some leagues to windward of the mouth of the river, who are well affectioned to them, by reason of the little necessities they bring them from the island of Jamaica.

This ship being of no service to the English, they thought it good policy to send us news of it, hoping that out of gratitude for their good offices, we should persuade the governor of Saint Domingo to give them refuge in the island. We received this news from two Indians that came with a canoe to meet us forty leagues up the river. They told us to come down with only forty men, first because the ship was too small to take more, and secondly because its provisions would not suffice for a greater number. But the hundred and twenty of us still went on, each determined to be among the forty.

Although the river we were about to leave is marked upon some Spanish maps as being eighty leagues in a straight line on its way to the Northern sea, we had, so far as we could estimate, gone more than three hundred, having almost always gone south-east to reach the north.

Cape Gracia a Dios.

On the 9th, we happily arrived at the mouth of the river at Cape Gracia a Dios, and so came to the sea, which we gladly recognised to be the Northern. There we were forced to await the English ship, for she had gone to the islands of Las Perlas, twelve leagues to the east of the cape. We stayed there until the 14th with the mulattos who dwell there, who fed us for some days upon fish that they caught with their harpoons.

The inhabitants of this cape : mulattos and Indians.

This cape, which is on the mainland, has long been inhabited by these mulattos and negroes, both men and women, who have increased considerably since a Spanish ship coming from Guinea with their fathers on board, had been lost there, it having gone too near the land, which is dangerous in these parts.

Those who escaped the shipwreck were humanely received by the Moustique Indians who live in this district, who were glad enough to see the loss of this ship, and of the Spaniards whose enemies they are.

These Indians gave a site to their new guests, who made a clearance and built huts in a fine savannah country which extends from the mouth of the river to five or six leagues up it. To support themselves they planted maize, bananas and cassava which the Indians gave them. The Indians taught them also how to make a nourishing drink which they call Hoon. They prepare it with a fruit that grows on the top of a trunk of a kind of palm-tree that grows wild in the woods. Its height never exceeds ten feet. Each of these trees produces but one large bunch of fruit, but the

greater number of such bunches are each heavy enough for one man to carry. The fruit has the size and shape of an olive. Some are yellowish and others red, and they have an extremely oily kernel inside a very hard shell. Fruit, shell and kernel are pounded together, and then the result is boiled in water, and is this all by way of preparation. When it is cold or even tepid, they pour out what they want to drink in a calebash pierced with three holes like a skimmer. Not only is this beverage both nourishing and fattening, it is also the most agreable to drink of all those I have met with, even with other Indians. It is peculiar to that nation.

The mulattos are well built, and go completely naked, except for those parts which decency requires to be covered. For that, nature has provided them with a kind of grey stuff which they get from a tree they call the bastard palmetto, the trunk whereof is covered with several layers, from the beginning of the trunk to some feet above, according to the size of the tree. This stuff is also of great help to them in the making of coverlets for the night, and some among them who are the more well-to-do, have shirts and drawers which the English of Jamaica bring them. They are the boldest people in the world in hazarding themselves amid the perils of the sea, and beyond contradiction, the cleverest at fishing. They set out in tiny canoes wherein no other man, however good a seaman, would dare to risk himself. Yet three or four of them will stand upright, never moving, whatever the weather may be, as if they were of the same piece as the canoe, and if they once set eyes on a fish, however deep in the water it may be, they will infallibly secure it when they cast their harpoon.

They often render services to our filibusters, when they take them on board and sail with them, promising that they shall have a share in the prizes that are taken. This promise is always faithfully carried out, for if once faith with them be broken, they can no longer be counted on, and this is common to all the Indian nations of these parts, who never return when anyone has been faithless with them.

The former inhabitants of Moustique who received those of whom I have just spoken, are settled 10 to 12 leagues to windward of Cape Gracia a Dios, at a place which they call Sembey or Sanibey. They are very idle, and plant and sow but little. They lie all day in hammocks, a kind of moving bed, beneath their *ajoupas* or barracks, while their wives

serve them in many things that they should do for themselves. When hunger drives them to it, they go fishing in their canoes, for they too, are, extremely clever at it, and when they have caught some they go back and eat them, and do not come forth again until hunger presses them anew. As for their garments, they are neither more magnificent nor more ample than those of the mulattos at the cape. There are but very few among

Ozanne Del. N. Ponce Excud.

VUE DU BOURG DU CAP-TIBURON,

Isle S.t Dominque.

C Morne du Cap-Tiburon. *A. P. D. R. — Plateau, ou l'on propose d'établir le Bourg.*

them who are settled down and sedentary; the others wander along the seashore, with no other house to shelter them than a latania leaf. When the wind blows the rain on one side, they set up this leaf, and shelter themselves behind it, holding it by the stalk like a screen. When the sun comes, they make a hole in the sand and lie there, covering themselves with the same sand, and this they do to protect themselves against the mosquitos, wherewith the air is most often filled. These are little stinging flies which are felt rather than seen, but their barb is so sharp and veno-

mous that when they apply it to anyone, it feels as though it were a dart of fire that they stab with.

These poor people are so tormented by these troublesome insects when there is no wind, that they become leprous therefrom. I can say with truth, for I know it from my own experience, that it is no slight pain to be attacked by them, for besides that they cause the loss of sleep at nights, it is when we have been reduced to go bareback for lack of a shirt, that the inopportunity of these animals has brought us to despair, and made us fall into rages so desperate that we could no longer contain ourselves.

When these Indians go on a journey, no matter how short, their wives, children, dogs and the little wild beasts that they have tamed, all go with them. This is a custom that I have seen observed among all the nations of Indians on the mainland of America, and although those of whom I speak, live in the same bestial fashion as the others, they are, none the less, not so savage, owing to the society they have with the English, who only endeavour to gain their friendship so that they may make themselves masters of their country, wherein they have already a number of settlements.

Ravenau de Lussan and fifty of his companions set sail for Saint Domingo upon an English ship, March 15th 1688.

On the 14th, in the evening, the ship which I said had gone to the islands of Las Perlas, arrived at the place where we were. Hardly had she taken her moorings, than everybody dashed out to board her for we were to have drawn lots to decide who should embark. None the less, fifty of us had succeeded in getting on board, and, since we felt that we had been more watchful than the rest, decided that there was no purpose in coming off again to stand the chance of losing at play something whereof we were already in possession. To prevent others then from coming on board, where we were already one on top of another, we weighed anchor and departed.

The master of the ship wished to take us to Jamaica, but as we did not know upon what terms France was with England, whether of peace or war, we forced him to take us to Saint Domingo. Each man paying forty pieces of eight, we went first to take water at the islands of Las Perlas, and left there again on the 16th.

On the 17th, we doubled the island of Catalina, which the English call Providence, where the Spaniards had formerly built a fine fort and

a little town which was captured by French and English under the flag of the latter.

On the 18th, we started to cross the channel, though there was a strong east wind.

On the 24th, we made land at Los Jardinos, which are a number of

Plan of the Town of Port de Paix in the Island of Saint Domingo.

little islands near Cuba, and, on the 29th, we took in water at the harbour of Portilla (in the island of Cuba) which is not inhabited.

On the 30th, we anchored south south-east of the town of Baracea in the same island. There we surprised some of the hunters of this town whom we obliged to trade with us the food they had, paying them as they desired, but this generosity we showed them, arose only from our uncertainty as to whether we were at war or peace with the Spaniards, since we had had not yet bespoken any French possession. Then we set off again, and crossed to Saint Domingo.

On the 6th of April we touched at Nippes, which is a little town on

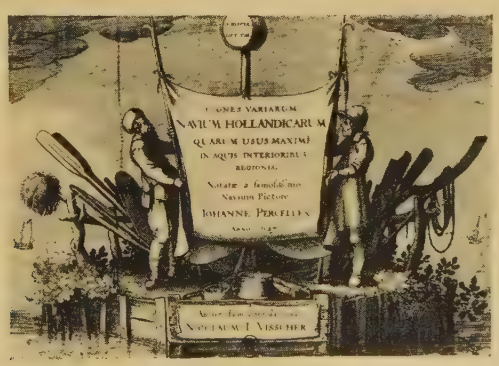
the coast, seven leagues distant from Petit Goyave, there to get news. While we stayed at anchor, some of our men, whose minds were so deranged, and their brains so weakened from the miseries that we had suffered that their imaginations were obsessed by Spaniards, when they saw from the deck some men on horseback going along the shore, ran to their arms to fire on them, thinking that they were enemies, though we assured them that we were among people of our own own nation.

Saint Domingo at last ! The filibusters' ship anchors at Petit-Goyave on April 7th.

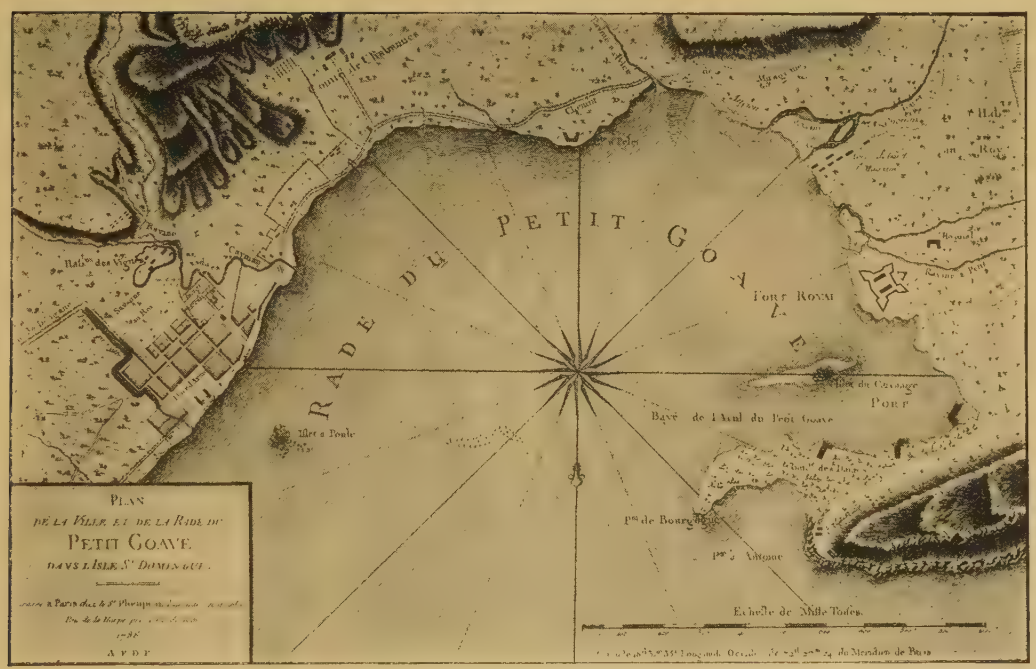
On the 8th, we left that place and anchored in the harbour of Petit-Goyave, whence we had sailed nearly four years before. Before we definitely landed, I went to ask M. Dumas, the King's Lieutenant, for a safe conduct which, in the absence of M. de Cussy, the governor, he gave us, in virtue of the amnesty which it had pleased His Majesty to send in favour of those who, since the peace, had made war upon the Spaniards. This peace, having been made since our departure, it had been impossible for us to learn of it in lands so far distant, where we were believed to be completely lost.

Finally, when we were all on land with a people who spoke French, we shed tears of joy for that, after suffering so many hazards, dangers and perils, it had pleased the Sovereign Master of the world to deliver us and send us back among people of our own nation, so that at last we might be able to return all the way to our own country.

Here I cannot refrain from adding on my own account, that I had so little hope of ever getting home again, that for fifteen days I took my return to be an illusion, so much so indeed that I avoided sleep, from fear that when I woke, I should find myself again in the country from which I had come.



JEAN-BAPTISTE DUCASSE
GOVERNOR OF
SAINT DOMINGO
FROM 1691 TO 1703



The Island of Saint Domingo. Plan of the town and roads of Petit-Goyave. (XVIIIth century.)

LES ANGLOIS CHASSEZ DE L'ISLE DE SAINT CHRISTOPHLE

L'Isle de Saint Chriſtophle, abondante en ſucre, en tabac, & autres marchandiſes, eſt une de celles qu'on appelle Antilles, ſituée dans la mer de l'Amérique méridionale. Les François & les Anglois s'y eſtablirent en 1626, & pour ſe délivrer des inconvenients, qu'ils eſprouvoient à la poſſéder en commun, ils s'aviſérent de la partager entre eux également. Chacun jouiſſoit paiſiblement de ſa moitié, lorſque la guerre de l'Angleterre, & de la France en Europe paſſa juſqu'en Amérique, & mit aux mains leurs Colonies. Le Gouverneur Anglois, qui le prémier eut avis de la rupture entre les deux Nations, voulut s'en prévaloir, & ſe mit en eſtat de ſurprendre les François. Mais ceux-cy, avertis de ſon deſſein, par ſes mouvements & par ſes préparatifs, oſérent, quoi qu'inférieurs en nombre, le prévenir; attaquérent ſucceſſivement divers poſtes que la Colonie Angloiſe occupoit, & l'en chaſſérent. Ils ne ſe découragérent pas meſme par la mort de leur Chef, tué dés la ſeconde attaque. Ils pourſuivirent leur entrepriſe auſſi heureuſement qu'ils l'avoient commencée, forcérent les ennemis de rendre par capitulation leurs Forts, leur canon, leurs armes, & demeurerent ſeuls poſſeſſeurs d'une Isle ſi importante au commerce des Indes Occidentales.

C'eſt le ſujet de cette Médaille. On y voit une Femme veſtuë à l'Américaine, ayant à ſes pieds un Bouclier aux Armes d'Angleterre, & appuyée ſur un Bouclier aux Armes de France. La Légende, COLONIA FRANCORUM STABILITA, ſignifie, *la Colonie Françoiſe affermie*. L'Exergue, ANGLIS EX INSULA SANCTI CHRISTOPHORI EXTURBATIS. M. DC. LXVI. *les Anglois chaſſez de l'Isle de Saint Chriſtophle. 1666.*

1697.

ATH, BARCELONE, ET CARTHAGENE PRIS LA MESME ANNE'E.

Quoique les Anglois & les Hollandois portaſſent tout le faix de la guerre, & euſſent un grand intéreſt à conclure la paix, ils différoient toûjours d'accepter les conditions avantageuſes, que le Roy leur offroit. Sa Majeſté, qui les deux derniéres campagnes s'eſtoit contentée de faire camper ſes armées dans le païs ennemi, jugea que par de nouvelles conqueſtes il pourroit déterminer les Alliez à profiter de ſes bonnes intentions. Il fit aſſiéger Ath en Flandre par le maréſchal de Catinat, & donna ordre au duc Vendoſme d'attaquer Barcelone. Ath fut pris à la veüe de cent mille hommes, & Barcelone, malgré toutes les forces d'Eſpagne enfermées dans la place, ou campées à ſes portes, ſe rendit après une des plus opiniaſtres & des plus terribles défenſes, dont on ait oüi parler. En meſme temps une petite eſcadre d'aventuriers François porta la frayeur dans le golfe de Méxique, prit Carthagéne, & l'obligea à ſe racheter du pillage par une groſſe rançon.

C'eſt le ſujet de cette médaille. On y voit la Victoire, qui écrit ſur trois boucliers attachez à un palmier, AD BARCINONEM HISPANIÆ, AD ATHAM FLANDRIÆ, AD CARTHAGINEM NOVI ORBIS, *à Ath en Flandre, à Barcelone en Eſpagne, & à Carthagéne dans le nouveau monde.* Les mots de la légende, VICTORIA COMES FRANCORUM, ſignifient, *la Victoire fidelle compagne des François.* L'exergue marque la datte *1697.*

Commemorative Medals struck during the Reign of Louis XIV on the occasion of two victories in the Colonies, described in the texts which they illustrate.

JEAN-BAPTISTE DUCASSE[1]

In 1691, our Settlements at Saint Domingo imperilled.

In May 1691, there reached Versailles a genuine cry of alarm. It came from our colony of Saint Domingo, then scarcely past its early childhood. The situation of the future colony, the finest of all our colonies under the old régime, was very serious : Spaniards and English had determined to destroy the possession that M. de Cussy administered, and, at the same time, to annihilate the nest of corsairs in Turtle Island, a pistol levelled at the Settlements of San Domingo, and the terror of those whose trade was carried by sea in those waters.

In the course of January 1691, combined Spanish and English forces had landed a few leagues from the *District of French Cape*. These enemy contingents, perhaps 2,600 men, each day pressed nearer to the coast the troops of His Most Christian Majesty the King of France, which were composed of bands of filibusters and buccaneers, enrolled under the orders of the governor and his lieutenant, M. de Francquesnay. Further, the defences of French Cape were threatened in the rear by a Spanish expeditionary force of a thousand muskets, which, coming from the city of San-Domingo, was advancing across the low hills and savannahs.

For two months, de Cussy and his companions held their own against these attacks, but their power of resistance was nearing its end. By the middle of January, the village at the cape had been captured and burnt. Soon afterwards, de Cussy the governor was killed. A corsair from Saint Malo, the sieur Bosquet, commanding the ship *Triomphant*, declared in writing, on the 14th of April 1691, at Fort Royal de la Martinique, before the Intendant of Justice, Police and Finances of the French islands and possessions upon the mainland of America, that as he was about to enter the harbour of French Cape on the evening of the 30th of January, he had come upon seven Spanish vessels which had forced him to run his ship upon the coast. The sieur Bosquet had swum ashore and brought confirmation of the disaster of Saint Domingo.

This was a severe blow, but the *colonials* of the old régime did not lack energy. For several months, they had been asking the officials of

(1) Official documents give him only Jean as a Christian name. Jean-Baptiste appears to have been the name he used before he abjured the Protestant religion.

Versailles to help them to recover the territory they had lost. *In the present situation, it is necessary, if what remains of the colony is to be saved, to send with diligence a few war ships to recapture the Cape, which may be done with troops from other places, without His Majesty sending forces from Europe. Two ships of forty guns with sixty men only need to be detailed* (1). These two ships were to complete the *naval division* of Saint Domingo, then composed of the *Solide*, the *Cheval Marin*, and the *Emerillon*. The Governor General of the West Indies gave Versailles to understand that there were *sufficient men at the Coast itself to man this fleet.*

Saint Domingo asks for Jean-Baptiste Ducasse as governor.

To direct the operations of this fleet, the troops and filibusters of Saint Domingo asked for Frigate-Captain Jean-Baptiste Ducasse. *My lord will be good enough to give order, should such be his desire, that the sieur Ducasse shall leave with the* Cheval Marin *and the* Cornette, *and that he shall make all sail, and having arrived at Martinique it will be to the good of the service that he shall leave for Saint Domingo taking the* Emerillon *with him or that he shall await orders at Martinique or that he shall appoint a meeting place for the vessels which he proposes, wherewith he promises to re-establish peace upon the coast and preserve for the King his most important colonies* (2).

Moreover, at the end of 1690, Ducasse, at that time in France, wrote to M. de Pontchartain that it was absolutely necessary to go to the aid of Saint Domingo. *This is the most important business which His Majesty can have outside the realm, by reason of the advantages of the American trade, the situation of the island, and the enterprises which can afterwards be undertaken against Spain.*

The saviour for whom the French of Saint Domingo expressed their desire was certainly not unknown to them. Jean-Baptiste Ducasse, then captain of a frigate, had, several years before, acquired a sound reputation throughout the West Indies, where our colonists had known him in turn as a director of the important Company of Senegal, as a bold and courageous corsair, and as a very distinguished officer of the Royal Navy, in which he had been commissioned in March 1685.

Ducasse was particularly popular in that eager, fight-loving, heroic and adventurous company of the Brothers of the Coast of Saint Domingo.

(1) *Archives du Ministère des Colonies*, Cl. A2, Saint-Domingue.
(2) *Archives du Ministère des Colonies*, l. c.

The relations between the young director of the Senegal Company and the buccaneers of the West Indian island had been by no means gentle, and the friendship that had followed was all the deeper because the filibusters admired a firm hand. Indeed, diplomatic relations between the colonists of Saint Domingo, all in some measure at loggerheads with the law, and their worships the Directors of the said Company had been

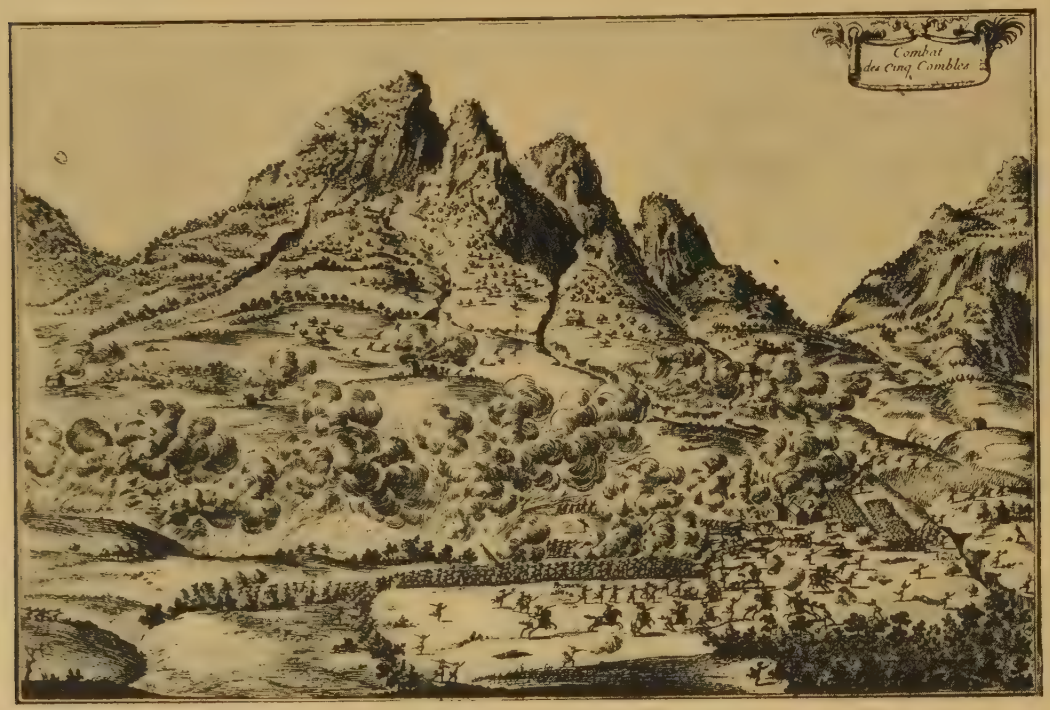
Fighting at Cayonne " in the course whereof M. le Chevalier de Salles, Governor-general of the Island of St. Christopher, and the others attached thereto, destroyed a detachment of the English Forces" April, 1666.

considerably strained. The Company, which possessed vast plantations on the African coast, desired to find places for the negroes bought at Gorée or elsewhere, and consequently, had obtained from the King a monopoly for the disposal of two thousand slaves in the Indies covering a period of eight years.

The early exploits of Captain Ducasse.

But the colonists of Saint Domingo would on no account agree that a great trading company should be allowed to come and establish itself in their domain, and, as soon as it was given out that the Senegal Company

was organising a trading Station for the sale of blacks at French Cape, they went to de Pouançay, the Governor, full of threats of what they would do. Serious disturbances broke out, and the filibusters spoke of no less than throwing all the Company's agents into the sea, if they should dare to show their faces at the Cape. These threats did not make Ducasse pause even for a moment. He went himself to Saint Domingo. *It was then*



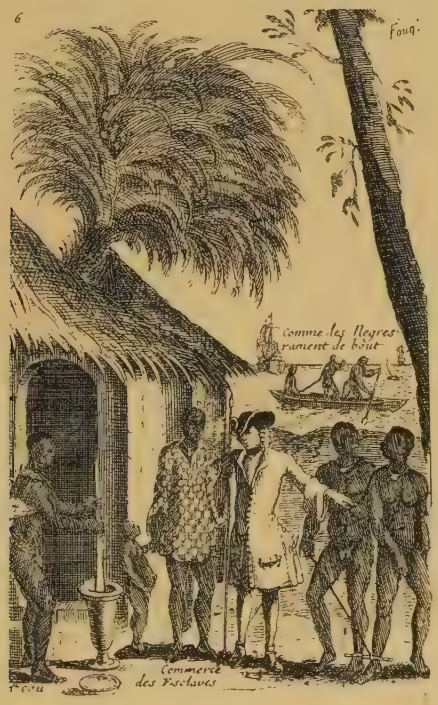
" The Battle of Five Peaks" at Saint-Christopher, between English and French, 1666.

that he began to develop that boldness, that cleverness, that eloquence and that great talent for persuasion which he frequently used later (1).

Surrounded by a gesticulating, yelling mob of Brothers of the Coast, Ducasse declared that he was not the man to withdraw. He had received his orders from the Company and from the King, and would carry them out. *Resistance would be vain, for he had all the force he needed.* Then he added that neither the King nor the Senegal Company had ever drea-

(1) *Histoire de Saint-Domingue*, by Fr. Lepers.

med of interfering with the privileges of the colonists of Saint Domingo, but that, on the contrary, his purpose in coming to the island was essentially that of furthering the prosperity of the colony. *You need a very great number of black slaves to cultivate your lands, and the Company proposes to get them for you at a very moderate price. If you yourselves send to Guinea*



A Slave-dealer and his Customer in Africa. (Engraving of the end of the XVIIth century.)

for them, you will spend more money than you will ever make when you come to sell them. Business being business, even in 1682, and on the ill-famed shores of Turtle Island, the filibusters recognised the truth of the argument, which was put forward with all the Gascon affability which a Jean-Baptiste Ducasse could command, coloured with a pure Bearnese accent. The Brothers of the Coast, with shouts of acclamation, carried off the envoy of the Senegal Company in triumph, such is the changeability of the crowd, and so greatly were the filibusters impressed by Ducasse's calm.

On his return to La Rochelle, Ducasse was given the task of organising the convoys of negroes intended for the island of Saint Domingo.

The slave dealer's life at this period was a hard one; thrown upon the coast in a storm, Ducasse had to seek safety in England, where he was seriously ill. His ship the *Bannière,* however, was able to bring its living cargo safety to port. Ducasse, back again in France, bought a ship *with his own money*, but, as he was going to Curaçoa with his holds full of slaves, he was attacked by the Dutch off Cape Tiburon. The Gascon was cunning; he managed his ransom in such a way that, not only did he buy back his own ship, but also acquired two *pataches* laden with tobacco. *This cargo made up to him for all his losses, and even brought him a fairly considerable profit.*

Some time later, when he was still commanding the *Bannière,* he was chased by a Dutch flute as he was on his way to the Indies. Ducasse never hesitated; he engaged the enemy, threw out boarding irons, and climbed with twenty sailors to the deck. At that moment, the *Bannière's* crew, thinking their commander and his nineteen brave fellows killed or prisoners, cut themselves loose, crowded sail, and made off. Ducasse did not lose his head, and with some of his men fought like the devil, attacking here, there, and everywhere, forcing the Dutch to scuttle down every hatchway, and then signalled vigorously to the *Bannière,* which realised its mistake and came back to the Dutch ship.

Ducasse returned to La Rochelle amid general acclamation, and received from Versailles, on March 15th, 1686, a commission as lieutenant. Then the Gascon left the service of the Senegal Company to enter that of the King.

A man of such a nature could not fail to be fully appreciated by the filibusters of Saint Domingo, and in Jean-Baptiste Ducasse they recognised a leader worthy to command them.

Jean-Baptiste Ducasse, a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, at Senegal

As an officer in the Royal Navy, Ducasse showed the same keenness and zeal as he had displayed in the service of the Senegal Company; we know of his cruise along the Gold Coast in 1687, and we know that his attack upon Dutch Guiana only just failed, and was compensated by the capture of Saint Christopher Island from the English. As a colonial, Jean-Baptiste Ducasse had shown what he was made of on the west coast of Africa, where, thanks to him, the Senegal Company, in 1677, recovered possession of Gorée, and obtained from the chiefs of Cayor and Bourzin a monopoly of trade and export over all the coast. Two years

later, he inspected the settlements, fortified Gorée, and, after three months hard fighting, captured the stronghold that the Dutch had established in the bay of Arguin. In May 1679, Jean-Baptiste Ducasse had to return to the West Coast, where our establishments were in danger, and forced the king of Joal to sign a treaty for trade. The following year, landing *with sixteen men* at Rufisque, he repulsed an attack by more than three

Slavery in the West Indies in the XVIIth century.

" How the Portuguese whip slaves who have run away ".

" Invention of a Frenchman at Martinique : A Slave who has had his leg cut off for running away."

thousand negroes led by the *King of Baol,* and got away, leaving ten of his sailors dead on the ground, and four wounded. Then gathering an expeditionary force, he went into Baol and forced King *Daniel* to accept the protectorate of the Senegal Company, one of whose directors he had become.

Such was the man who, in everyone's opinion, not only at Versailles but in the West Indies too, could save the imperilled Saint Domingo.

Ducasse brings a fleet to the assistance of Saint Domingo in 1691.

It was at La Rochelle in March 1691 that Lieutenant Ducasse formed a little squadron to go to Saint Domingo. He reached Fort Royal de la Martinique on May 8th 1691. There he learned that our establishments at Guadeloupe had been attacked by an English squadron under Lord Codrington. There was just time to take on board food and water, and the French vessels arrived in sight of the hills of Guadeloupe. On the

22nd of May. Ducasse opened the engagement, and manœuvred so boldly that the English ships were obliged to withdraw, the King's ships chasing them as far as Barbadoes. So, in less than a fortnight, Jean-Baptiste Ducasse had delivered our Guadaloupian colonists from the menace of the English. At the beginning of June, the French squadron was back again in the roads before Fort Royal de la Martinique, ready to start for Saint Domingo, but then it became the victim of an epidemic which decimated the crews, some strange sickness which nobody recognised. What was to be done? Ducasse thought that a *change of air* would be the most effective remedy, and ordered the ships to make ready to sail. On the 12th of August, the squadron reached Port de Paix in Saint Domingo but, hearing that the English were preparing to attack the port of Léogane, the commander thought it wise to betake himself thither without delay.

When he went ashore, the lieutenant found awaiting him a royal order, dated the 1st of June, 1691 (1) charging him with the administration of the French coast of Saint Domingo.

Everything about him inspired confidence and attracted affection. Saint-Simon, and it is well known how sparing the famous memoirist was of compliments, said of him : *in person he was attractive rather than otherwise, distinguished, slender, neat waisted; his appearance was charming.*

Alas, the colony was in a sore plight. *It is desolating,* Ducasse wrote to M. de Pontchartrain, *to see these poor people overwhelmed by fate, filled ever with the remembrance of their lost wealth and the beauty of their island. Nothing is capable of distracting their thoughts from this subject. I have done my best to contribute to the lessening of their sufferings. Many wish to return to Martinique, being persuaded that there they may find life safer, with a glimmer of hope that the good success of the King's arms, or else the coming of peace may give them Saint Christopher. Others are returning to France, and only very few become settlers. They are in straits for lack of the necessary help to clear the ground; they know not what to do, and the greatest part of them are women and children.*

Yet Lieutenant Jean-Baptiste Ducasse would not be discouraged.

(1) It may be of interest if we here give the list of Jean-Baptiste Ducasse's predecessors in the government of Saint Domingo : 1641. Le Vasseur; 1652, the Chevalier de Fontenay; 1656, Du Rausset; 1663, Deschamp de Laplace; 1665, D'Ogeron, with de Pouançay temporarily; 1676, de Pouançay; 1684, de Cussy; October 1684, Ducasse; November, 1703, Auger.

A French Fleet arriving at the Island of Martinique. (Dutch Engraving, 1695.)

Discovering that the Spaniards were meditating an attack upon Léogane, *which is the finest of the districts,* and Petit-Goyave, he resolved to take the offensive, despatched a *basque* (1) to Martinique for ammunition, and *took with him the two companies which the King had had the kindness to leave with him.* He asked for four new companies, an engineer to fortify the Cape *which is the key,* and Petit-Goyave where the harbour is, and a strong castle built at Port de Paix. He also asked for *picks, shovels, spades and hoes* for the work of fortification. He had already succeeded in raising the morale of the settlers, and they asked that they *might do their best to contribute* to the defence of the island. How could it be otherwise with a governor who believed in the destiny of Saint Domingo ; who, at the first council of war held at Léogane, spoke of the great future in store for the colony. « Why make us such promises » an officer said to him, « our King abandons us because he does not know us, but we are ready to die beneath his flag ».

Jean-Baptiste Ducasse refused to take the advice of those who were in favour of *restricted occupation,* and proposed to gather all the colonists into the districts of the Cape and Cow Island. He extolled, not retreat, but advance.

Jean-Baptiste Ducasse reorganises the colony of Saint Domingo.

As a man of honour, Ducasse would not allow slander to assail the memory of M. de Cussy, and as soon as he reached the colony he had tried to calm the resentment which was being openly expressed against his predecessor. *I must tell you,* he writes to M. de Pontchartrain, *that I find nothing in the conduct of M. de Cussy, other than that which redounds to the credit of an excellent man devoid of self-seeking and inspired by zeal. The trafficking that is imputed to him is pure calumny. He died with much glory and very little wealth.*

While getting the colonists into good order again, and having re-established confidence ; at Versailles, Ducasse insisted upon a prompt organisation of justice at Saint Domingo ; it was essential to put bounds to the too great freedom of the buccaneers, and to bring back the population to a normal condition ; the fear of the policeman and the judge being the beginning of wisdom.

(1) Or Bayonne fly-boat, a fast and remarkably seaworthy type of vessel.

The officer of the King's navy also complained of the way in which the colonists were scattered. He wished to concentrate them into a few districts, refusing to give them as concessions *lands of too great extent,* for they remained untilled. And here we see, even immediately upon his arrival at Saint Domingo, Ducasse's colonising spirit. To him no colony could be well established unless it rested upon the exploitation of its territory. So, at Versailles he asks for labour, for more colonists. *I take the liberty, my lord, of telling you two of my ideas upon the matter; the first is that if you investigate all the resources of the Realm you will find a number of vagabonds who might be sent here. The English have employed this means to increase their own. The second is that there are a number of people in Ireland who are wearied of fighting, and fear lest they should again fall beneath the yoke of the English, and they would gladly embark for this country.* So Ducasse based his hopes upon a population of tramps and rebels. He also asked the metropolitan authorities to *choose among the foundlings the strongest who should be from ten to twelve years old, and to send them to Saint Domingo, in the hope that at that tender age they would become accustomed to the climate, and to the labour that was necessary to obtain from this island all the advantages it seemed to offer.*

The insistence with which the governor of Saint Domingo pressed Paris to facilitate his policy of populating his island, singularly recalls Bugeaud's efforts to colonise Algeria.

To facilitate his task as organiser and administrator, Ducasse divided his government into *districts,* and the first which he organised was that of French Cape, where he placed an energetic *circle commandant,* at once a good soldier and a good administrator, a man whose exploits fitted him for the position of leader to the filibusters of the place, Laurent de Graff. This man was a flegmatic Walloon, born at Breda in Brabant, who had taken service in the Spanish fleet as a simple sailor, and had rapidly specialised as a gunner. He was, it seems, the cleverest gunner of his day. His voyages to the West Indies had given him a taste for the life of a filibuster, and it did not take him long to become a member of the corporation of the Brothers of the Coast of Saint Domingo. In Laurent de Graff's heart there still lingered an old Calvinistic hatred for Spain and the Duke of Alba, so when he became a filibuster chief, he more than once avenged the cities of the little country that then groaned beneath the

enemy yoke. The Spaniards feared him *like fire;* they called him Laurencillo and likened him to the Devil himself. The governor of San Domingo had put a price upon his head, and so well assured was Laurent de Graff of their intentions, that when he ran the risk of falling into their hands, he stood beside the powder magazine, a lighted match in his hand, determined to blow himself up, should hope have to be abandoned. His audacity was boundless, and a thousand heroic stories were told of him. One day, for example, he went in a barque with twenty pirates to attack two Spanish vessels of fifty guns, and took them by storm. Versailles was informed of these exploits and the King sent De Graff letters of naturalisation, as well as a *pardon* for the death of a certain captain Vanhom whom he had accidentally killed during a dispute. Louis XIV, who was a good judge of men, even went so far as to give Laurent de Graff a lieutenant's commission, and it was in this capacity that governor Dùcasse gave him the task of administering French Cape, or rather, of trying to *civilise* the buccaneers and filibusters there, and turning them into hardworking settlers.

So, before he had hardly settled down at Saint Domingo, Lieutenant Jean-Baptiste Ducasse had laid down the main principles of his colonial policy: to defend the young possession against its enemies, Spanish or English, by tactics of a continued offensive, and to begin the effective development of its resources so as to assure to the mother country its important economic wealth while, at the same time, providing an incentive to the colonists themselves.

In 1691, Ducasse is appointed governor of Saint Domingo.

In October 1691, Jean-Baptiste Ducasse continued his work of putting the French districts of Saint Domingo on a very sound footing of defence by increasing the size of their companies of militia, and of restoring order by securing the restitution of *property and money* which *vagabonds* had stolen from the cottages of the settlers. It was in October 1691 too, that Ducasse learnt of his appointment as Governor of Saint Domingo, for which he sent acknowledgment to Versailles in these terms: *I begin my letter with very humble thanks for the honour which you have done me in granting me the government of Saint Domingo; my gratitude for it shall be eternal, and the desire to render myself worthy of it shall never leave my thoughts. And although I have never served on land, my Lord, I trust that when the occasion arises, you will*

Landing at Saint-Domingo.
(XVII^th century engraving.)

Island of Saint Domingo. Plan of the town of French Cape in 1766.

not find me too much of a a novice; my good will and my keen desire to do my duty shall remedy this defect. Moreover, in all things pertaining to my duty and my employment, I shall always act with such precaution and prudence that I may have cause to hope that your protection will continue to assist me. These lines give us a perfect picture of the man.

Governor Ducasse was determined to make himself respected by the Spaniards, and a short time after he had been confirmed in his appointement, he wrote the following haughty letter to the Governor of Havana. It is dated January 20th, 1692. *The King, my master, having honoured me with the government of Saint Domingo, I have determined, Sir, to begin by making certain whether you ill-treat the French or not and to tell you that it will depend upon you alone whether I, and the officers who hold command for His Catholic Majesty in the Indies, shall act in a manner like unto your own. But I must also tell you that the President of Saint Domingo acts with unexampled cruelty, slaughtering the French whom he has captured, while those who escape his fury are treated in a barbarous and cruel manner, he driving them to work all day beyond their strength, causing them to perish of hunger, and shutting them at night in dungeons wherein they scarce can breathe. As this usage is practised by him alone, it is my duty to warn you, Sir, that if he does not moderate this cruelty, I shall be obliged to order the corsairs to give no quarter to any Spaniards whom they may take. It will only be with pain that I shall resolve to adopt a measure so unhappily extreme, and I will hold over my just resentment until such time as you and he may inform me of your intentions. And if you neglect, Sir, this warning that I give you, God will lay upon you the guilt of the blood that shall be shed, my motive being only to act in a manner in conformity with the religion which we all profess.*

I even offer to give back to you all your prisoners, if all those gentlemen the other governors will send back the French. Let me have, Sir, the honour of a reply. I am, Sir, your humble and obedient servant, Ducasse.

There can be no doubt that the turbulence of the adventurers hampered Governor Ducasse in the execution of his schemes. The continual disputes between the Brothers of the Coast, their habit of leaving their concessions to go filibustering and their unauthorised enterprises, distressed him and formed the subject of complaints to Versailles. After 1692, all his efforts were directed to the restoration of order for, *here we have nothing but a collection of wretches, the greater part of whom have nothing of*

their own, who live by the chase, who, even to-day, do not recognise the unworthiness of their behaviour and are always in continual terror of the Spanish lances (1).

To reassure these people, then to persuade them to work, was the first task that Ducasse imposed upon himself. He asked the King for authority to prosecute the thieves among the filibusters and to give their confiscated property to *the orphans, who are many, and in a pitiable state of want.*

In 1692, the colony is set upon a firmer footing.

The Arms of the order of Friars Preacher (Dominicans) of the Province of Saint Louis who were entrusted with mission work in the West Indies.

To safeguard those who lived honestly, the Governor grouped them into four districts, those of the Cape, Port de Paix, Petit-Goyave and Léogane, with *four officers of the regular forces* at their head.

But Jean-Baptiste Ducasse thought of spiritual as well as temporal welfare. Here too, there was confusion and disorder, and it required all the firmness of the new governor to put an end to the disputes which arose between the three orders to whom the religious affairs of the island

(1) At San Domingo, the Spaniards had organised special troops called *lances* whose duty it was to harass the French buccaneers, and to destroy the *settlements* of the colonists.

were entrusted, the Carmelites, Jacobins and Capuchins. To this end Ducasse created parishes, and ordered that the religious should be apportioned between them, obliging the settlers to pay their pastors *regularly*. Further, the Governor asked Versailles for Sisters of Charity to look after the sick and wounded, and to care for the orphans, of whom there were, unfortunately, many, so tragic was the life of the Brothers of the Coast. During the year 1692, Ducasse's work in making a colony at Saint Domingo had to be begun from absolutely nothing. Everything was lacking ; men, ammunition, finances, and yet, like our colonists of yersterday and to-day, he got himself out of his difficulties with no more ressources than those he had at hand. *The troops for which I asked were absolutely necessary, but the war in Europe prevents my being sent any, and, while waiting, we shall do the best we can.* And so all along the line : the fort de la Paix was pressed on, but it caused expenses *far in excess of the available funds.* Jean-Baptiste Ducasse completed his work simply by making use of whatever came to his hand, even adding storehouses for flour and munitions. There was no stone, so Ducasse had a lime-kiln built where bricks were baked to make the walls. There was no architect, so he drew the plans himself, and all, officers, soldiers and hired men, had a finger in the pie somehow. Meanwhile, hearing of the capture of Namur and the victory of Steinkerque, the Governor gave a brilliant feast in the port of Léogane. The sound of the violins and the quadrilles had, it seems, a most stimulating effect upon the morale of the French throughout the districts. All these efforts were not in vain, and by the end of 1692, the colony was perfectly able to defend itself against any Spanish incursion.

Ducasse's activity causes some dissatisfaction.

This activity of the Governor of Saint Domingo did not continue without giving umbrage to the King's lieutenant-general in the West Indies, M. le comte de Blenac, who tried to *make a fuss* over the giving of commissions to the corsairs, which he said was illegal. The comte de Blenac let it be understood that Jean-Baptiste Ducasse received an illegal share of the prizes. *I find myself compelled to complain to you of a bloody insult which M. Blenac has offered me on the subject of the commissions which I give to the corsairs of this government, and of his telling me that I shall be treated as a rogue. This is extraordinary behaviour and contrary to the dignity of any man to whom the King has committed his authority. I can, my Lord, only request you to*

appease his evil temper; it is hard and insufferable to an honest man who serves his King with honour and with zeal, to find himself calumniated.

I take the liberty of sending you a memorandum which contains his claims and likewise my own wherein there is not a word that is not true. I would rather lose my fortune than have it enhanced at the price of a lie. I am in despair that a matter concerning myself should cause me to weary you with my importunities, but I regard this as a matter which wounds my honour. This letter was written on the 5th of January 1693 from Petit-Goyave, where Jean-Baptiste Ducasse had established himself, for so, he was in the very middle of the filibusters. The Governor was clearly not an absentee, and by this daily contact, he acquired enormous influence over the turbulent mob of Brothers of the Coast.

The relations between the governor of Saint Domingo and the filibusters

If the Governor had no native problem to trouble him, for by 1693 the last of the Caribs had gone to the god of his fathers some time before, he had to initiate a *local* policy with regard to the filibusters. These men had to be won over, to be made the first line of the colony's defence, and this could be done the more effectively, when this defence was conducted upon lines essentially *offensive*. But even more than this was necessary. These « enfants terribles » must be made into colonists and settled definitely upon the land. At first, Ducasse had to be satisfied with keeping the filibusters well in hand, and especially with making sure that they did not go off on long expeditions, leaving the colony defenceless.

Whatever care, he writes on the 10th of November 1693 to M. de Pontchartrain, *I take to keep the filibusters in order and prevent them from going away, I am never able to rely upon them, for they never consider anything but their own convenience, and the licence with which they have lived is past correction. They know quite well that the authorities can do nothing against men who care not where they live. The size of this island makes it easy for them to sail away whenever they feel so inclined, and, were it not for the harm they do our enemies, it would be very greatly to be desired that none of them should remain in this colony. Their example is an inducement to all the libertines and poor settlers to embrace their profession, and if we prevented them from going away by refusing them commissions, they would become pirates. I make use of every means which the present necessity suggests, to induce them not to go away, but when they are at sea, they enjoy full and entire liberty. No one obeys orders; each goes his own way,*

and the majority carries the day. When the captain proposes to go northwards, they decide to go to the south. But Ducasse means to make use of these lads. *If luck should have it that they are upon the coast when the enemy appears, I will make them do their duty, or have them shot.*

With these *enfants terribles* indeed, Ducasse kept the Spaniards continually on the run. The Governor put into practice that old principle of colonial strategy : when one is in the worse position, attack continually. It was the better to keep his hounds on the scent, to maintain this sharp offensive, that Ducasse installed his « governor's palace », or rather, his headquarters, at Petit-Goyave, the real centre of the West Indian filibusters, and from there, he *rarely spent a week without inflicting some fatal wound upon the English and the Spaniards.* The filibusters so frequently raided Jamaica, where, for the greater profit of the young plantations of Saint Domingo, they made off with negroes and negresses, that on the coast of Saint Domingo, which the Brothers frequented, the island of Jamaica was called simply Little Guinea.

Attack upon Jamaïca, 1694.

Jean-Baptiste Ducasse's actions as a military leader entrusted with the defence of the island of Saint Domingo were always correct. Thanks to the despatch of three vessels of the Royal Navy, under the orders of the Chevalier du Rollen, the *Téméraire,* the *Envieux,* and the *Hasardeux,* with the *Solide* that the Governor had brought from La Rochelle, and thanks to the filibustering flotillas which he had collected, Ducasse was able to attack the English settlements in Jamaica in June 1694, and, a few months later, in spite of the unsuccessful defence of the French district by Laurent de Graff and La Boulay, to hold in check a strong Anglo-Spanish expedition which, however, laid waste nearly all the districts except that of Léogane. The attack upon Jamaica in 1694 produced twenty-five millions, three hundred negroes and fourteen colours. The King was so delighted that he gave Ducasse a pension, made out in his own name and that of his wife the lady Marthe Baudry, in case she should survive him. *M. Ducasse distributed to the officers and men almost the whole of what had been taken at Jamaica. M. de Pontchartrain found fault with him for being so generous, and informed him that officers and men were paid to serve the King, and that a general should content himself with making known to the Court those who had most distinguished themselves, for the right of reward belongs to the King alone.*

In two years, the Governor succeeded in making good all the districts that had been destroyed. Pontchartrain, who always supported Ducasse's plans, persuaded Louis XIV to order the colonists who had settled in the island of Sainte Croix to go to Saint Domingo. For this purpose five ships were sent from France, and M. de Galliffet, a *member of a noble family of Provence,* was given the title of Governor, and instructed to see that this evacuation, wherein 1500 persons were concerned, was carried out. M. de Galliffet, so Father du Tertre tells us, always kept the title of Governor and received its remuneration. The Gascon Ducasse found in the Provençal de Galliffet, a supporter remarkable in every respect. A contemporary says of him : *He rightly passed for the greatest man whe had ever yet come to the islands to administer a colony. He had a mind sublime, vast, capable of the greatest enterprises, so penetrating that nothing escaped him, and his character was lively and full of fire as that of a Provençal usually is. Continually about the northern coast of Saint Domingo which he administered, protecting « the humble and meek », watching over everything, he was activity itself.* But he was perhaps a little too avaricious for, it was said, he managed to put aside a million. He was not, unfortunately, too much oppressed by scrupules. However, it was de Galliffet who reorganised the « devastated regions » of the districts of French Cape and Port de la Paix.

All these works called for financial resources, and the troops had to be kept. The Governor found himself compelled to turn the screw on the fiscal system of Saint Domingo.

It seems to me, he wrote to M. de Pontchartrain in 1696, *desirable in the King's interests that two sous should be imposed on every pound of indigo that is put on shipboard. So the revenue will be more certain, less a burden upon each individual settler, and cause no hardship to the poor.* The Governor explained to his minister how easy it would be to collect this tax since *its declaration will be uniform with that which has to be made at the customs.* Ducasse, it may be seen, avoided giving trouble to the taxpayer, and his reform did away with the necessity for capitation charges upon slaves. That Pontchartrain agreed to Ducasse's suggestion, we learn from a decree dated July 18th, 1696.

The Governor's task was really a difficult one, and it was for this reason that he always invoked the strong support of the royal power.

The exploitation of Saint Domingo's resources.

We find Ducasse frequently asking Versailles for full and complete approval of his actions ; continually he insists upon the support he needs for his authority for, *all this country is composed of a collection of scamps who lie and tell the truth with the same readiness, while their distance from the King does not permit him to form a decision upon the merits and demerits of individuals.* Again, he had not been sent what he asked for ; he had lost his stores at Port de Paix and must have flour, tools and ammunition, but either Rochefort did not reply, or sent him flour that was *half rotten.* Ducasse did even more than seemed possible for those who had been evacuated from the island of Sainte-Croix, but as he remarked : *it is a great misfortune for these people to find a devastated country.* As for the soldiers who had come from that island, Ducasse does not hide the fact that *they will suffer for a year, but I will try to lessen those sufferings by sharing them with them.*

Besides the settlers evacuated from the island of Sainte-Croix, Saint Domingo received convoys of hired men. The Governor writes : *Forty-eight girls and sixty-six boys have arrived, and have been delivered to the settlers. I shall have the honour to inform you of the numbers of those who get married.* So Jean-Baptiste Ducasse endeavoured to assure the French population of his colony. This was one of his main cares, for human material was needed to produce that development of the island for which he hoped.

Captain Ducasse, in spite of his immediate difficulties, in spite of his constant cares from the military point of view, never forgot that Versailles expected from him that Saint Domingo should quickly produce results in the economic field. Under the old régime, colonisation was not only intended to provide an easy field for the activities of a few younger sons, or a few corsairs ; it had a very well defined aim, to procure for the home country those supplies which are known as « colonial ». This is made clear by the long efforts which, for example, were made in our possessions in the Indian ocean to capture from the Dutch their monopoly in the cultivation of spices. From Saint Domingo, Paris in 1696, demanded a supply of tobacco.

Tobacco and indigo.

So Phelypeaux de Pontchartrain sent letter after letter to Ducasse asking what was the position with regard to the tobacco plantations, and the minister did not hide the fact that he was being harassed on this point by the farmers-general. Ducasse, on his side, was obliged to contend with

settlers who did not believe in the possibilities of tobacco cultivation, and were always afraid that it would deteriorate in transit. Ducasse, and here he foreshadowed the future policy which encourages the export from the colonies of products which have already undergone the first processes of manufacture, considered that this principle should be followed in Saint Domingo, and that a manufactory should be set up for that purpose. This he explained to the Minister in a letter from Léogane, dated the 14th of December, 1696.

The Governor further asked that the tobacco farm already established in the island should be done away with, for he considered that such action would stimulate production, especially if the farmers-general had a licence to import from any specified plantation in Saint Domingo. Ducasse mentioned the example of New England, which at that time was exporting much tobacco to Great Britain, providing Parliament with *three millions in taxes*. Moreover, this attitude was also that of the *traders of La Rochelle,* who gave M. de Pontchartrain to understand that it *would be in vain to try to persuade the settlers of Saint Domingo to grow tobacco unless the right of the farmer to sell it within the realm was suppressed.* It was the hampering effect of monopoly over again. This question of the extension of tobacco growing at Saint Domingo was of interest to everybody. A sieur Toinard, for example, proposed to the Court, in a memorandum dated October 8th, 1697, that he should set up a tobacco manufactory in the island. This Toinard had spent more than a year in Portugal, and had come into contact with inquisitive and intelligent travellers who had been to the Indies, Angola and Brazil. The scheme interested the Minister.

The *suggestions* of Jean-Baptiste Ducasse were considered by the King, who, on the 20th of June, 1698, signed a *decree for the plantation of tobacco at Saint Domingo* which begins in these terms : *The king desiring to procure for the settlers of Saint Domingo the re-establishment of the plantation of tobacco, and the sale which they shall make thereof at prices and conditions to the said settlers.* This decree obliges the sieur Nicolas Duplantier, farmer-general, to buy from the settlers, all the tobaccco harvest of Saint Domingo, basing the transaction upon an estimated provision of seven hundred thousand leaves. The monopoly of the sale was granted to Nicolas Duplantier. To encourage cultivation, the decree provides that

each settler shall make a declaration signifying the quantity he wishes to supply. The farmer-general must take possession of the harvest and pay for it either in cash or in bills of exchange at sight in four months. *The farm of the dominions of the West was to receive three per cent of the purchase price of the whole harvest. The estimate of seven hundred thousand leaves was not to be exceeded, the surplus being burned or thrown into the sea, or considered as pure loss to the proprietors.* But this was not so much as Ducasse had asked : he wished for a provision of two hundred million leaves. The divergence is considerable, and we find Ducasse declaring (in a letter dated December 22nd, 1698) that the amount is absolutely insufficient. Further, he objects to payment in bills of exchange, for the colonists need tools, clothes and supplies. *If this farm were managed on His Majesty's account they (the farmers) would find no difficulty in the matter (in increasing the estimate), but as it is on their own private account, they care little whether the colonies perish or not, provided their own profit is assured.*

In a note addressed to the King, Governor Ducasse supplied what we may describe as a detailed account of the economic condition of Saint Domingo. In it, he shows that Saint Domingo and the American islands every year furnished 60,000 pounds of sugar, 800,000 of cotton, 1,000,000 of indigo and 300,000 pounds of cocoa all of which was bought by Spain. *The French send to the islands, in food stuffs, supplies, and merchandise of all kinds, goods amounting to more than two millions, so that the trade which, before 1664, was entirely in the hands of foreigners, having been brought to the state wherein it now, is by the care and protection of His Majesty, has given, and is still giving, a profit of inestimable value to the State.*

J.-B. Ducasse and the filibusters capture Carthagena in 1697.

The peace of Nymegen was quickly broken. The period of calm from which Ducasse expected so much incentive for the economic development of his colony was too short to allow him to pursue his schemes of development. From the end of December 1696, all the Governor's attention was concentrated on the preparation of the expedition, famous in the annals of the filibusters, which was to take Carthagena. The story of the filibusters' assault, — they were led by Ducasse himself and aided by the regular troops of de Pointis —, against the Spanish forces defending Carthagena of the Indies, has, many times, been told, but we have been fortunate enough to discover an account of the taking of the town, written

PLAN
DE LA VILLE ET RADE
DE
CARTAGENE
ET DE SES FORTS.
Pris par Mr de Pointis
le 5e May 1697.
RENVOIS du PLAN.
A. La Ville de Cartagene.
B. La basse ville de Himani.
C. Le Fort S. Lazare.
D. Le Fort de Ste Croix.
E. Le Fort de Boccachique.
F. Redoute de l'Entrée du Bassin.
G. La Tranchée.
H. Batterie de 6. pieces
I. Batie de 3. piel et de 2. mortiers.
K. Batie de 6. piel et 1. mortier.
L. Batie d'un mortier dans le Chemin.
M. Batie d'un mortier dans l'Isle proche la Redoute.
N. N. Dame de la poupe.
O. Lac de N. D. de la poupe.
P. Maison où on debarque les Troupes.
Q. Parc d'Artie ou l'on debarque le Canon.
R. Le Sceptre.
S. Le Hermitage.
T. Le St Louis qui canone rent la Ville pend't l'atta que de la Place.
V. Galliote qui bombard't la Ville.
X. Le Traversier de même
Y. Galliote qui bombardoit Boccachique.
1. Batie de 2. mortiers qui bombard't Boccachique.
2. Mouillage devant Boccachique.
3. Descente devant Boccachique.
4. Descente des Flibustiers manqué parceque la mer estoit agitée
5. Vaisseaux brulez des ennemis.
6. Les Campa.
Echelle de 1000 toises

Plan of the Town and Roads of Carthagena, showing the Forts, 1697.

by Father Plumier, the chaplain of the Brothers of the Coast. It is dated Saint Domingo, August 17th, 1697. We have taken from it only the principal passages, but they are sufficient to show how important this expedition really was. It was a tremendous enterprise equipped by privateer owners of Saint Malo, with the help of a royal squadron under de Pointis. It success largely depended upon the assistance of the Saint Domingo filibusters, and this was very freely given, though the return they got for it was, as we shall see, hardly adequate.

On the 6th of March last, M. de Pointis and his ships came within sight of Léogane. On the 7th, he anchored off Petit Goyave at two o'clock in the afternoon, flying the English flag (a common enough trick in sea warfare during the XVIIth century, providing a means of eluding the vigilance of the enemy). *There, he conferred with M. Ducasse upon the surest means of securing success. It was agreed that the enterprise was impossible unless the filibusters and settlers of Saint Domingo should take part therein. The difficulty was to persuade them to do so « because they are utterly opposed to service with the officers of the navy, owing to the treatment they assert they have received at their hands, and the little faith they say they have found in the promises which have often been made them».*

To surmount these difficulties, and overcome their lack of confidence, M. de Pointis issued a written declaration on behalf of the King, and this was posted on the door of the church of Petit Goyave. On the 12th and 14th of the same month, he had another copy posted in the town of Petit Goyave and a third was kept by M. Ducasse. This proclamation promised on behalf of the King that the quota that should be given to the settlers and filibusters of any spoil should be according to the custom of the filibusters : in other words, the booty should be shared among them all equally. We have seen this curious document which was drawn up in the following terms :

We have agreed that the settlers, filibusters, and negroes of the coast of Saint Domingo, who have joined the forces which His Majesty has entrusted to my command, shall share in the booty that shall be taken, man for man, with the crews of His Majesty's ships. On board the Sceptre *the 10th of March, 1697.*

Signed : Pointis.

But the filibusters were still sceptical, and de Pointis would never have succeeded in rallying them around him, without the help of Governor Ducasse. From 1690 onwards, the Governor's power over the Brothers of the Coast was undeniable. Father Plumier does not hide this fact.

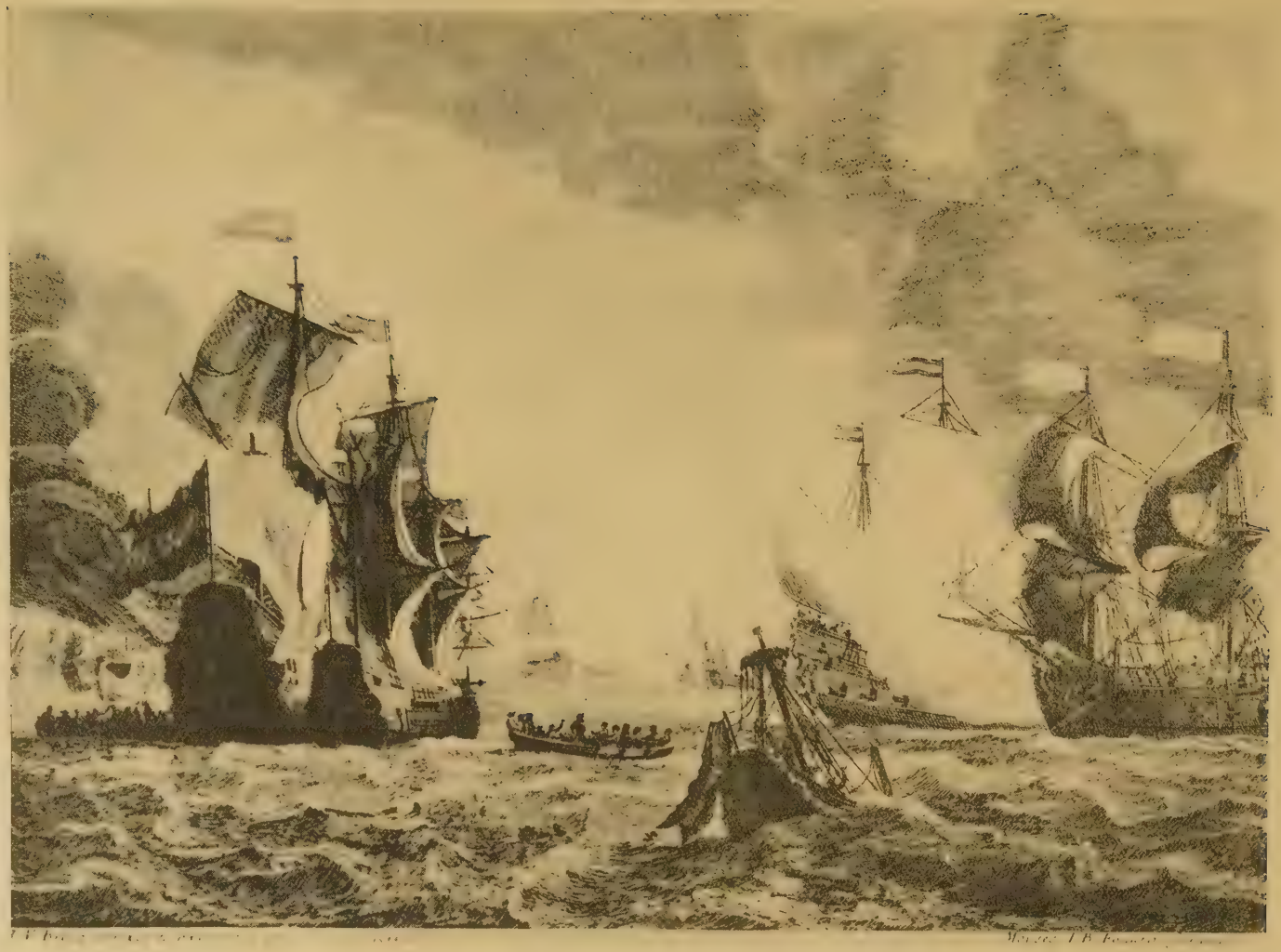
M. Ducasse assured the settlers and filibusters that they might have every confidence in the promises of M. de Pointis, and, on the word of M. Ducasse, they came together from their dwellings or from the forests, 1,500 men in all, and sailed with M. Ducasse upon twelve ships. This little fleet set out from Saint Domingo on March 15th, following M. de Pointis, who had sailed four or five days before to Cape Tiberon, which was the agreed meeting place of the troops, both those of the King and those of the Coast. At Cape Tiberon they rejoined M. de Pointis; there was a general review of the troops and a start was made for the expedition to Carthagena. In a few days the King's forces reached the mainland, and there a council of war was held to decide whether the expedition should go direct to Porto-Velo, whither, the corvettes declared, the galleons had withdrawn for fear of M. de Pointis's force. The council resolved to go straight to Carthagena, because as Porto Velo is to leeward of that town, it would have been impossible to go there on the return from Porto-Velo, in case the galleons should be missed. Upon this resolution, the expedition went straight to Boucachie which is a fort of four regular bastions built at the entrance to Carthagena river. A few pirogues arrived, intending to give assistance to that place, but the filibusters, with M. Ducasse at their head, went ashore and cut off all communication between the pirogues and the fort. The filibusters advanced to within musket range, keeping up so strong a fire that no Spaniard dared to go upon the walls to load and handle the cannon. When M. de Pointis saw that under cover of the filibusters' fire, it was possible to reach the wall and set ladders against it, he gave orders for the escalade, but the Spaniards hearing this, and perceiving that they were about to be taken by storm, hoisted the white flag and laid down their arms. After this expedition, the whole force entered the channel, which is a league and a half in length, from Boucachie to Carthagena. This town is divided into two quarters, one whereof is called Carthagena and the other Sigimany. The first landing was made before the latter place. M. de Pointis began to lay siege in due manner. Batteries were set up to breach the walls. The breach being made, the grenadiers were ordered to begin the attack, but as this manner of siege is not in use among the filibusters and the settlers of Saint Domingo; and as matters, in their opinion, were going too slowly by the ordinary method, they separated themselves from the

others, and sabre in hand, pushed their way past the grenadiers, and made straight for the breach, without any regard for the fire that was poured on them. M. Ducasse placed himself at their head, and the whole army was carried along by the torrent. The ramparts were surmounted and M. Ducasse raised aloft the King's flag. He was wounded in three places, and declared that now he was prepared to die, calling upon the troops to do their duty. Having, in the manner I have just described, become

Capture of Carthagena in South America, May 3rd 1697.

masters of the fort, they sacked it. Many brass cannon and some wealth were found therein.

Then they went to lay siege to Carthagena. Cannon and mortars were set up, and the attack was duly begun. The Spaniards endured their fire for two days, but then, perceiving that their town would be ruined if they offered a longer resistance, they hoisted the white flag and surrendered. It is not exactly known what were the terms of this surrender; only, it is believed, the least that M. de Pointis secured thereby was eight million crowns. Many people place the value of the spoil at forty million livres.



Naval Battle in 1670. (Engraving after the picture by I.-V.Beecq.)

After this capitulation, with the money received and set on board, M. de Pointis set sail, taking with him eighty bronze cannon, and all the bells the town possessed. When he was at sea, he sent word to the filibusters and the settlers who had followed him that if they would be satisfied with the King's pay, which was 15 livres a month, he was ready to give it to them together with their share of a tenth of the prize money. Evidently, the filibusters were not mistaken in their distrust of the promises made them by *officers of the navy,* in spite of the notice that had been nailed to the church door at Petit Goyave in Saint Domingo. Their wrath may easily be imagined ; they even went so far as to talk of engaging M. de Pointis's ships. *They would certainly have done so,* writes Father Plumier, *had not M. Ducasse twice compelled them to renounce this plan. As they have great respect for him, they abandoned their design. Then, they returned to Carthagena and began to sack it. When they had taken all the silver and precious stones that they could find, they locked up the ecclesiastics and principal citizens in the church, surrounding it with barrels of gunpowder. So, with lighted matches in their hand, they found means to discover where the treasures were.*

However they failed not to observe due respect to the weaker sex, and one of them being accused of rape, was condemned to death by a council of war. Their pillaging done, they withdrew twelve vessels weighed down to the water's edge, and some of them reached Saint Domingo towards the end of last June.

Admiral de Pontis has a narrow escape from the English and Dutch fleet.

Those who are inclined to sympathise with the filibusters will learn with satisfaction that M. de Pointis was punished for his failure to keep faith with the Brothers of the Coast. When his squadron had reached the coasts of Jamaica, it came upon a fleet of twenty-four English and Dutch vessels which were coming to the aid of Carthagena from Europe. In the darkness, the main squadron succeeded in escaping, though it left its hospital ship in the enemy's hands. During his retirement, which was favoured by the slowness of the enemy, de Pointis lost sight of the *Apollon,* the *Avenant,* the *Maine* and the *Dieppois.* Proceeding cautiously, M. de Pointis succeeded in getting through the Bahama channel, near Jamaica, and there captured a small English ship. Then he discovered that he had only just escaped a very serious disaster, for he had met with Admiral Nowel, who had gathered a fleet of sixteen English and eight Dutch ships at Barbadoes to punish our corsairs for their capture of the town

of Carthagena. Fortunately for de Pointis, the majority of Admiral Nowel's ships had been delayed forty-eight hours at Jamaica by a contrary wind, and, by a happy chance, an epidemic had suddenly broken out among the enemy crews, bringing down the number of active combatants on each ship from three hundred and fifty to one hundred and fifty men.

After this narrow escape, de Pointis ordered all sail to be made for Saint Malo, but he must have been somewhat disturbed in mind, for we find him admitting, not without ingenuousness, in an official report that *nothing of consequence happened beyond an error in navigation which brought us to the west of the island of Terra-Nuova when we thought we were in Conception Bay in Canada.*

Continuing his course in the Atlantic, de Pointis came upon another English squadron, but it was not a very strong one, and both parties contented themselves with the exchange of a few broadsides. On the 23rd of September, the Saint Malo privateer owners saw the vessels which they had despatched for the *affair of Carthagena* return to port, together with the King's ships which had taken part in that expedition. These details make it clear that the whole enterprise was really a huge piratical undertaking, in which the naval forces of the King, and the Brothers of the Coast of Saint Domingo were associated. The latter had been fooled, and they complained bitterly about it. They swore, though it was rather late in the day, that never again would they be caught acting in concert with respectable company or the powers of law and order.

One thing is certain, and that is that victory was due to Jean-Baptiste Ducasse. It was his power over the filibusters alone that secured a successful ending to the undertaking. But all that the Governor got out of it took the form of anxieties, and lying allegations on the part of de Pointis with regard to the distribution of the booty. According to documents in the archives which we have consulted *they collected in all eight millions in gold and silver, nineteen hundred marks of emeralds, eighty-two guns, much golden jewellery, emeralds in settings, and sixty-five bells.* However, Versailles was made to realise the important part which the Governor of Saint Domingo had played at the taking of Carthagena, and Louis XIV sent him the Cross of Saint-Louis as a reward.

Ducasse receives the Cross of Saint-Louis

On his return to Saint Domingo, Ducasse had to meet an attack

by English from Jamaica. At daybreak, on the 8th of July 1697, the English expedition made its way into the harbour of Petit Goyave, and there disembarked. The guard had only time to exchange a few shots with the assailants, and the Governor in night-cap and night-gown just managed to escape from the town. He quickly set to work, and at 10 o'clock in the morning, returned to Petit Goyave at the head of four hundred lusty fellows. There was a brisk encounter, and at one moment, Jean-Baptiste Ducasse with only eight soldiers, was surrounded by the English in the market square. He succeeded in extricating himself and, rallying his men again, drove the enemy back to the sea. In this affair he lost all his clothes and his furniture, for whatever escaped *burning by the English was stolen by the filibusters!*

Any improvement in the economic prosperity of Saint Domingo was not only hampered by the continued fighting with English and Spaniards, but it was hardly assisted by the colonists themselves. In spite of all his energy, Ducasse weakened before the task. *My Lord,* he wrote to Pontchartrain, *allow me to tell you that I am grown old and worn out. If it be that you would do me a kindness, now is the time, otherwise it will be in vain; this government is the most difficult imaginable.* The colony was short of negroes to cultivate the ground, and there was *practically nothing in the storehouses* in the way of general equipment. Moreover, Ducasse was ill. *I shall find it hard to answer you* he writes on the 15th of January, 1697, *for I am weak and my mind still feeble, the consequence of a serious illness which attacked me at Port de Paix, six weeks ago.* Yet all his attention was devoted to the *trading establishment* which the King wished to set on foot at Saint Domingo. Knowing that a trading company was being considered at Versailles, he writes to Pontchartain : *I shall regard the company which you form as the private concern of the King,* and he is distressed because he has neither place nor storehouse sufficient *to put the men whom this company shall bring with it, and their merchandise must lie out in the open.* When a well-earned sick leave was granted him, Governor Ducasse would not take advantage of it until this question of the formation of a colonizing company was settled ; he feared lest it might impinge upon the royal prerogatives. Ducasse was anxious too about economic equipment, a matter which was absolutely indifferent to the Brothers of the Coast. *My experience of the lack of interest of the settlers*

in everything which concerns the public good, causes me to tell you, my Lord, that recourse must be had to a tax upon commodities, from the proceeds of which can be built churches, prisons, courts, bridges and other urgent necessities.

To Ducasse, and here he represented the views of the colonists themselves, monopoly, bound up in the establishment of a chartered company, meant nothing but disaster. He continually pressed this view upon the Minister, the Court, and all who had the slightest influence. This was also why he did his best to obtain freedom for the tobacco trade, and the closing of the farm. But at Versailles, the reports of farmers-general declared that Saint Domingo tobacco was not good. Above all, the Governor desired to make known in France (another innovation), the remarkable resources which the Realm might draw from the *Spanish Island*, and to that end, he published what we may call the following tract. It is headed :

Ducasse, in a memorandum describes the wealth of Saint Domingo.

Memorandum of what can be obtained in the Island of Saint Domingo, suitable for trade (1).

SUGAR

The canes are very fine and good; they last longer than those of the Windward Islands and their sugar is very good.

TOBACCO, INDIGO, COTTON, AND ROCOA.

I do not speak of the ox hides wherein a very good trade may be done, nor of the tallow that may be drawn from the oxen.

Besides commodities, divers other things can be made there, such as rare, soap, paper and indiana. For the rare there are quantities of two or three kinds of soda, besides fern, especially beneath the palm trees of the Great Cul de Sac, where can be gathered teazle in great abundance. There are places and rivers filled with fine white pebbles, and in addition, forests for wood in plenty.

For soap, the same soda may be used. There is the wherewithal to make excellent lime, and above all, great quantities of very fine oil from the palma christi which is a tree that bears all year round a great quantity of fruit, whence is drawn an excellent oil suitable for every purpose other than eating.

PAPER.

The cotton is excellent for this purpose, for it needs not to be put into loveine to whiten it, as chiffons and cloths must be in Europe. Paper made of cotton is the

(1) This unpublished memorandum comes from *Archives Coloniales : Corr. Gén. de Saint-Domingue.*

A Sugar Factory in a Saint Domingo Plantation. (From Fr. du Tertre.)

firmest, whitest and most delicate that can be made. There is no shortage of waterfalls and excellent wood to make store-houses and paper-mills. Only the gum would need to be brought from France.

Indianas : cotton material can well be made there; there is no lack of drugs wherewith to dye them, such as Indigo, rocoa, brazil wood, and several barks and roots, especially one which dyes a very handsome yellow, and when a little citron juice and alum are added thereto, this yellow turns into a very fine saffron.

Silk.

If it should be desired to make silk there, the mulberries of France grow there very well. I have seen two at Port de Paix which a Father Victor, Capuchin, had brought there from Europe. These were growing well, and besides them, are true mulberry trees in several parts of the island which might well serve to nourish the worms. There mulberry trees grow wild in the country. It is true that they are a little thorny; their cocoon is yellow and should make a very fine dye. The silk worms can be fed all the year round, since the trees bear leaves there all the time. So therefore, silk can be made during the whole year, and it is very fine and very beautiful. I have seen some made at Martinique by the late M. de la Calle, which was more highly esteemed than that of the Levant.

Marble.

In the Turtle Island and at the Cape, are several fine kinds of marble, very handsome and of every shade. I have remarked twenty different kinds, among others, black serpentine, jasper, granite and two kinds of grey and black and red and white.

Wood.

There are places on the island of Saint-Domingo where may be obtained very good wood for shipbuilding, especially in a place called Artibonite where there is an excellent navigable river. This wood is commonly called « Aresne » though it is not actually oak, but because it has the consistency of our oaks. It is even easier to work. The trees grow very well, being tall and straight like our French poplars. The wood never goes rotten in the water.

There are several places also with very great forests of very fine pines about sixty to eighty feet in height, as straight as ramrods. I have seen some from which might be made planks from forty to fifty feet long, and from one to two feet thick. This wood is slightly more tender than that of Europe, but much longer and it yields a resin of good quality and of excellent odour for use in churches, as I have several times observed at Port de Paix.

Nor are there lacking many fine kinds of wood suitable for cabinet-making, such as mahogany, rosewood, goyac and mameulins.

As for mines and metals such as gold, silver and copper, these exist in several places as richly as one could desire. The Spaniards obtain gold dust from several rivers, but they hide as much as they can for fear lest we should seek to take it from them.

The creation of the Royal Company of Saint Domingo, 1698.

It is easy to understand that such information only served to hasten the creation of the Royal Company of Saint Domingo, in which MM. de la Boulay, Inspector General of the Navy, d'Aguessau and Pontchartrain were interested. The deed constituting the company was signed on August 30th, 1698. It was to have been called the Company of New Burgundy, but M. de Vanolle, one of its promoters, tells us in a letter dated September 10th, 1698 and addressed to M. de Pontchartrain that *M. de La Boulay has seen M. d'Hozier, who was not satisfied with my telling him that the arms which he suggested for the New Burgundy, pleased neither your Lordship nor the Company*. So the New Burgundy became the Company of Saint Domingo. The system upon which it was founded is known : a concession in perpetuity of the land from Cape Tiberon to the Naybe river, and the exclusive right to trade for a period of fifty years ; permission to acquire a thousand enlisted men over a period of ten years, and the right to obtain from the *kingdoms of Inda, Adra, Pepo and the Cameroons,* up to two thousand negroes, on consideration of a payment of twenty sous per head to the Guinea Company. The King was to supply ships and guns, and the Company to build fort and storehouses.

Jean-Baptiste Ducasse was undoubtedly a pioneer in matters of colonisation. The establishment of the Company of Saint Domingo did not satisfy him : he considered that the only really effective method was that of direct administration. Certainly, the Governor's opinion carried weight, for it was based on his own personal experience. He had been a director of the Senegal Company, and knew the dangers of the concessionary system. So, hardly a year after the formation of the company in question, Jean-Baptiste Ducasse, in a letter dated February 4th, 1699, warned Pontchartrain against the encroachments of the *farmers of America,* and the former servant of the Senegal Company showed himself more royalist than the king, a further proof of that love for the *public welfare* which animated the ranks of these governors or magistrates, sprung from the lesser gentry and often, indeed, of humble birth. *Saint Domingo*

was never bought. The valour of a few Frenchmen under the leadership of the Chevalier de Fontenay gave us Turtle Island, two leagues away, in 1637, after a struggle in which half the defending Spaniards were killed. In 1639, it was recaptured by the Spaniards. They were driven out again, and since that time the island has remained in the possession of the French. They, not content with this possession only, proceeded to Spanish Island,otherwise Saint Domingo, wherein they found so great a number of beasts that, in less than five years, there were 500 hunters called buccaneers in that island, and they, by force of arms, took all the lands whereof His Majesty is now in possession. This preamble established the King's right to Saint Domingo, and Ducasse remarks that the sieur du Rossey *who was in command at the Turtle, ceded to the Company of the West a house, a tower, and some guns of inferior quality for the sum of 15,000 pounds, but no sovereign rights.* Further, he makes it clear that it was *at the request of the people of Turtle Island and the Spanish coast* that a governor was asked for from the King, the sieur d'Ogeron, to wit. Thenceforward, Saint Domingo was *united to the royal domain, and that voluntarily, upon the promise of the royal authorities that they would never impose any tax upon the said colonies of the Spanish Island,* and Ducasse adds : *The example of the Kingdom is an evident proof of this necessity even when peoples have have not the right of conquest in their favour. Those of the Pyrenees, who guard the passes to Aragon; those of Biscay, to Navarre; the towns of Dunkirk, Ypres, Lille and others : do they pay the same tribute as those which are in the heart of the kingdom?* Why then impose taxes? The colonies are *outposts;* the colonists should be encouraged. *The farmer has only the right to enjoy the lease granted to him,* and Ducasse reminds the authorities that *there is no more unsound scheme in all the world than to impose taxes upon distant peoples. You will forbid them all foreign trade; no commodity can be sent out or brought in save from the kingdom; are you not the absolute master to impose upon them everything you please? They accept without a murmur, but I make bold to tell you that you will never make colonies unless you give the colonists the chance to get rich. The natural inconstancy of the French, and their love for their native land will incline them all to return, if they cannot hope to have there the chance of making a fortune. This alone will induce them to remain.*

In July, 1700, M. Ducasse was in France, taking a rest after the fatigue of a long stay in the tropics. He was continually consulted about the affairs of his colony, which was being governed in his absence by

Ducasse's return to France, 1700

M. de Galliffet. In a letter from Versailles, dated the 11th of August, 1700, M. de Pontchartrain asked Ducasse if there was any purpose *in increasing the number of hired men destined for Saint Domingo, on the ground that the settlers can employ them more usefully.* The request had been made by M. de Galliffet. He also inquired if it was necessary to issue a special ordinance to this effect. On the 16th of August, Ducasse replied that all that was necessary was to give orders to the Admiralty officers at Dieppe, Honfleur, Le Havre, Rouen, Saint-Malo, Nantes and La Rochelle, Bordeaux and even Marseilles.

Jean-Baptiste Ducasse as a rear-admiral, is ordered by Louis XIV to conduct the viceroy of Mexico to Carthagena of the Indies.

It was not until two years later that Governor Jean-Baptiste Ducasse went back to Saint Domingo, in June 1702. Louis XIV's foreign policy had made it desirable to send his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, to Madrid, and France was to collaborate with the Spanish fleets in the protection of the Spanish possessions. A series of measures had to be agreed upon between Versailles and Madrid conjointly, and Louis XVI selected Jean-Baptiste Ducasse, who on July 20th, 1701 had been promoted commodore, to conduct the negotiations. The Governor of Saint Domingo showed himself to be as good a diplomat as he had been a perfect sailor and an excellent governor, and, on the 27th of August, 1701, he signed the treaty of Asiento. Some months later this treaty was to become of considerable importance in view of the coalition against the Bourbons. The irony of fate decreed that Ducasse, now promoted to the rank of captain-general, should be entrusted with the duty of escorting to Carthagena of the Indies, the Duke of Albuquerque, Viceroy of Mexico.

So Ducasse went back to Léogane from Spain, and at Corunna, received the Duke and Duchess of Albuquerque, on board his squadron, in accordance with the orders he had received from Versailles. One of his officers, M. de Benneville, was to escort these grandees of Spain to Vera Cruz. On the 17th of August, 1702, M. Ducasse wrote from Porto Rico : *They would have had me take them to Mexico, but they have seen my point, and now we are making for the headland of Saint Domingo, and there we shall separate, unless the enemy appears to be about.* The proviso was a wise one, for while Jean-Baptiste Ducasse was sailing back to his post, his deputy, M. de Galliffet, had to meet a fierce attack upon Léogane by the English, and the French fleet made all haste. Suddenly, on the morning of

1. Figuier d'Inde ou Raquette. 130
2. Gempa. 190
3. Rocou, et les Negras qui le pillent. 149.
4. Cierge Epineux 130.
5. Bois de Trompette.
INDIGOTERIE.
6. Bassin
7. la Tremporre.
8. La Batterie
9. le Reposoir
10. Chaussis ou Segoute l'Indigo.
12. Plante d'Indigo.
13. Negres portant l'Indigo aux caissons pour le Secher
14. Negres coupants et portants l'Indigo
107

(From the Histoire Générale des Antilles, Op. cit.)

the 29th, Ducasse's squadron came to grips with that of Admiral Benbow.

The meeting took place off the Venezuelan coast, near Santa Marta, and resulted in no less than five desperate struggles. Ducasse, with four ships, had to engage seven English vessels. For three days, from the 30th of August to September 3rd, 1702, the fighting continued. The English squadron was beaten off, and our ships went on.

Ducasse resumes the government of the colony until 1703.

It was high time that Jean-Baptiste Ducasse should resume the personal management of the affairs of the colony, and make his firm yet paternal authority felt by all.

The commandants of the different districts did not relish M. de Galliffet's government. One of them, de Brack, even went so far as to write to the Governor's Deputy in these words : *If I were the son of a Jew, or even the grandson, I should always have my coffers full as they do, but I am the son of an honest lawyer, and only take what is my due so as to be able to pay what I owe.* De Galliffet noted in the margin of this letter : *It seems to me that he must wish to be rude to me; yet there has never been a Jew in my family.* The authority of Captain-General Jean-Baptiste Ducasse soon restored calm. It was no small authority, for a leader who, in the very midst of the storming of Cathagena, could put a stop to pillage by shouting to the filibusters : *What now, you dogs, will you always remain devils in human form?* could do anything with them. A story is told of his reply to a filibuster who had come to ask for some pay that he said was due to him : *You rascal, I know quite well that behind my back you call me a red dog and a thief, but I care not. If you are not satisfied, take my sword and plunge it into my body. I have no money, and you shall have none either.*

The influence of such a governor was like a lever. It was mainly through the efforts of Ducasse that the settlers of Saint-Domingo were able to found a colony in a land which had hitherto been more a haunt of buccaneers and Brothers of the Coast than a real overseas possession. In a few months, the Governor, taking up again the reins of office, continued his work of pacification and colonisation. But not for long : in March 1703, the Captain-General had to return to France.

On his return from Saint Domingo, Jean Baptiste Ducasse had the joy of assisting at the marriage of his only daughter, Marthe, with the

brother in law of Pontchartrain the Minister. This was a naval officer, Louis de La Rochefoucauld, Chevalier de Roucy, Marquis de Bloye. It was a princely marriage, and the young lady's dowry amounted to 120,000 livres. Public honours, kindnesses, wealth were all the portion of that brave and able Gascon, Ducasse.

The maritime career of Commodore Jean-Baptiste Ducasse continued to be brilliant. We find him again, in 1704, before Vilez-Malaga, upon the blue waters of the Mediterranean, distinguishing himself in the course of the battle by a famous duel between his ship, the *Intrépide,* and the *Barfleur,* commanded by the English admiral Shawell. Covered with blood, wounded, and black with powder, Ducasse compelled his enemy to break away after five hours fighting.

The maritime career of Rear-Admiral Jean-Baptiste Ducasse.

It was Ducasse again who, waiting in Spain for a favourable opportunity to set off with a large convoy to America, was sent by Philip V, after the capture of Barcelona by the Archduke Charles, to ask the help of the French forces. We know how the Comte de Toulouse failed in the attempt to relieve Barcelona. On the 20th of June, 1706, Louis XIV sent for Ducasse, who was then at Versailles, and set him the task of rescuing from Cadiz all that remained of the naval forces of Spain. In spite of his unsatisfactory state of health, the commodore succeeded in carrying out the King's wishes, with great vigour and energy.

In 1707, Ducasse was directed to take to Cartagena the merchant ships he had got away from Cadiz. He was placed in command of a squadron that included the *Magnanime,* his flag-ship, the *Glorieux,* the *Elisabeth,* the *Hercule* and the *Thétis,* and, as he safely fulfilled the mission that had been entrusted to him, he could once more spend a few days at his beloved island of Saint Domingo, and look upon Carthagena of the Indies, whose ramparts he had climbed at the head of his filibusters. On his return, in December 1707, Ducasse found among his letters the brevet of Lieutenant-General of the Naval Forces. This sign of favour will be more easily appreciated, when it is realised that Ducasse brought back to Spain galleons that carried aboard them fifty millions.

The affair of the Spanish galleons.

In 1710, Louis XIV asked Ducasse to renew this exploit and to convoy the galleons gathered at Panama, with nearly twenty millions. This, despite the fact that the English and Dutch squadrons had got

wind of what was intended. The admiral left Brest for the West Indies on board the *Saint-Michel,* on March 27th, 1711. He had decided to sail alone, arranging to meet his squadron at the harbour of Port Louis of Saint Domingo, and, on the 2nd of June, he once more entered Carthagena where the galleons were assembled, at the head of his ships. But he had to leave again, and that was the whole difficulty, for the enemy was cruising in force up and down outside the Spanish port. Jean-Baptiste Ducasse, Lieutenant-General of the Royal Navy, then remembered his early days as a filibuster, and had recourse to one of the classic devices of the Brothers of the Coast. He had all the sacks of crowns brought on board his own ships, and then sent out the largest galleon, the *Amirauté,* whose holds had been emptied of everything that was precious. A few Spanish ships accompanied it, and the rest remained under cover with the French squadron. The stratagem succeeded perfectly : the enemy ships gave chase to the *Amirauté,* which crowded sail and made off. Ducasse then sailed, making straight for Saint Domingo where he reached French Cape. There he remained twenty-four hours, then set out for Martinique, where he made a long stay, and finally reached Corunna. Louis XIV gave Ducasse the rank of Commander of Saint-Louis. Philip V went further, for on the 24th of April, 1712, he appointed him Knight of the Golden Fleece. La Rochefoucauld, who was serving on the *Saint-Michel,* had informed Philip V of the happy arrival of the galleons.

I have just this instant learned, wrote the Princesse des Ursins to the Marquis de Torcy, *that M. Ducasse has reached a port in Galicia with his vessels. This will be mortifying to our enemies, for it will enable His Majesty to continue the war, if they are not ready to make a fair peace.* Commenting upon this exploit, Saint-Simon says : *A much better venture was Ducasse's arrival at Corunna with the richly laden galleons for which he had gone to America. They were awaited with much impatience for fear lest the enemy fleets should capture them on their return. It was a great blessing to the Spaniards, who were greatly in need of them, and a great encouragement to trade, which was languishing and almost in complete disorder. It was also very annoying to the English and Dutch, who had been watching them for so long to their great expense and weariness.*

In spite of the Peace of Utrecht, the Catalonians who had entrenched themselves in Barcelona refused to surrender to Philip V, and the inhabi-

tants of Majorca took their part. Throughout Catalonia, there was a very bitter struggle against the Castillians, and Louis XIV, in response to an appeal from his grandson, sent an army overland to Barcelona under Marshal de Berwick. At the end of 1713, a fleet was gathered at Toulon, and, once more, the King asked Jean-Baptiste Ducasse to go to the help of the Spaniards. The admiral was very ill ; his campaigns in the colonies,

Ducasse at the siege of Barcelona, 1714.

Life at Saint Domingo in the XVIIIth century. The Clothmarket. (Engraving by Brunias.)

in spite of the robust qualities of an extremely sound constitution, made themselves felt, and the wounds he had received at the battle of Velez-Malaga were causing him some uneasiness. But, in spite of the doctors' advice, Jean-Baptiste Ducasse, at the end of January, 1714, decided to go to his post. He stopped for a few days at Bourbon l'Archambault, there to take baths to *close his wounds*. On the 22nd of February, he was at

Toulon. *His health, in truth, is not of the best,* M. de Bellefontaine wrote to the Minister of the Navy, *but his good will and his courage will make up for it.*

On the 19th of March, the admiral was before Barcelona, and until the Marshal de Berwick arrived on June 3rd, he took command of all the besieging forces on land and sea. But his strength failed him, and he was compelled to ask for leave. He was landed at Collioure, after he had handed over his command to the Bailiff de Bellefontaine, and thence a post chaise took him to Cauterets at the beginning of July 1714. There he took some baths, and made his way by easy stages to Paris, where he arrived, still very exhausted, on October 27th.

Death of Ducasse.

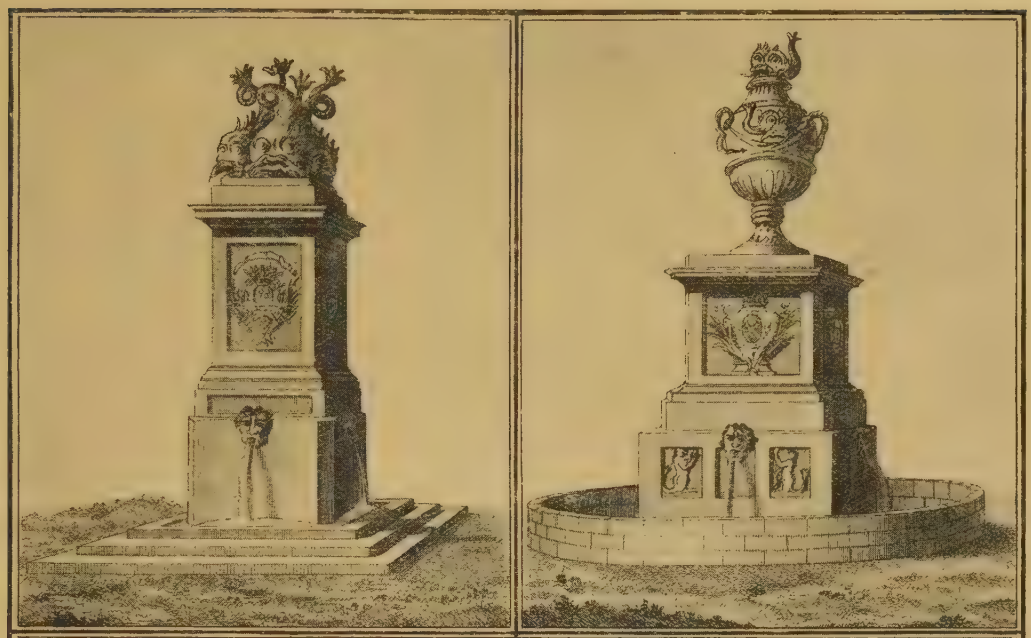
The gallant sailor passed the winter by the fireside with his wife and his daughter, Mme the Marquise de Bloye. When the first fine days came, he was taken to Bourbon l'Archambault, but the waters were too strong for him, and despite the filial attentions of his son in law, Louis de La Rochefoucauld, the admiral died on the 25th of June, 1715

Saint-Simon, who is not given to sentiment, after rendering just homage to his qualities, declares that *he loved the State, and good for good's sake, a thing that is now become rare indeed. He was one of the best citizens and most generous men whom I have ever known, and everyone made much of him when his condition and his services had brought him within reach of society and of the Court. He died,* adds the Duc de Saint-Simon, *at a great age, broken by weariness and wounds. He would have been Marshal of France if his age had allowed him to live and serve, but his duties had taken him so far that he was old when he arrived.*

The place from which he had gone so far was a modest house on the banks of the Adour, in a village near Dax, Sambusse. It was surrounded by moorland with its wading birds and its sheep. Far away in the distance the ocean glittered, and in the background, the blue hills of Béarn gave a touch of sadness to the landscape. The house in which the family lived was a plain one. It was of one storey only, and had a red tiled roof and broad stone casements. A huge conch stood above the door, through which had passed generations of men of the law : notaries and provincial judges had followed one another, all lovers of good company and of the reading of the Bible (for they belonged to *the religion)*, and the study of the Law. In this village, in the graveyard belonging to the church built in 1248, Admiral Ducasse, the notary's son who had renounced the

A. Brunias. Pinx.t A. Sculp
THIS PLATE (repreſenting a CUDGELLING MATCH
between ENGLISH and FRENCH NEGROES in the
Island of Dominica) is humbly dedicated to
Sir Ralph Payne, KNIGHT of the moſt
HONORABLE ORDER of the BATH
London. Published 15 [illegible] 1790 by
Broad Street, Soho
A. Brunias

(Engraving by Brunias).

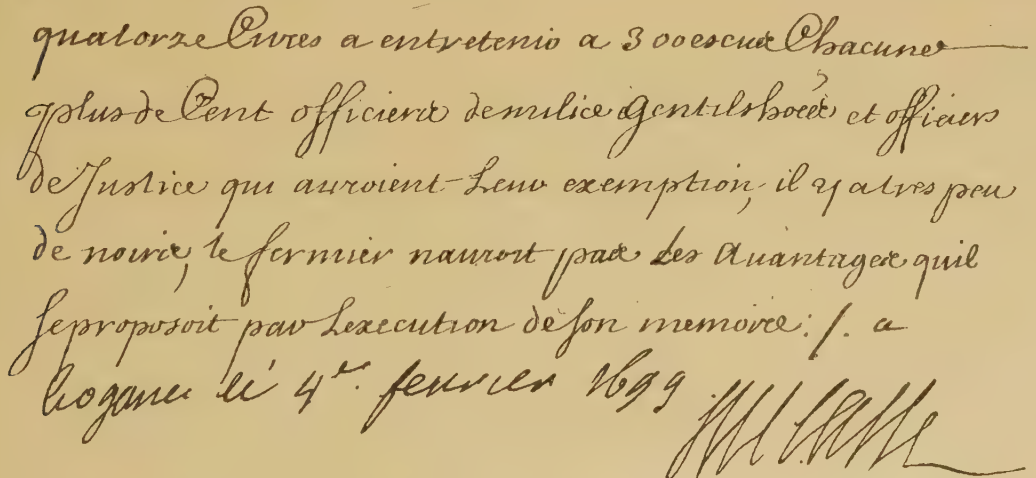


FONTAINE
DE LA VILLE DU FORT D'AUPHIN.

FONTAINE
DE LA PLACE D'ARMES, AU CAP.

Saint Domingo in the XVIIIth century.

faith of his fathers, but retained the rigid imprint of calvinism, went to his last sleep, the ribbon of the Cross of a Commander of Saint Louis across his breast, and round his neck a replica of the Golden Fleece, his widow, according to custom, having returned the original to the Palace of the Escurial.



Fragment of a report dictated by Ducasse; dated and signed by himself, February 4th 1690,

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE
BY ORDER OF THE MINISTER OF THE NAVY

Frigate-Captain Chack, Principal Officer of the Naval Records Office CERTIFIETH that, from the registers or documents preserved in the collection of the Navy in the National Archives,

the following has been extracted :

NAME & DESCRIPTION	DETAIL OF SERVICES
Du Casse, Jean (not Jean-Baptiste) born in 1646 (1)	Lieutenant; March 15th, 1686. Frigate-Captain; November 1st. 1689. Appointed governor of Saint Domingo, in place of M. de Cussy; June 1st, 1691. Captain; January 1st, 1693. Commodore; July 10th, 1701. Lieutenant-General of the naval forces; December 27th, 1707. Died at the waters of Bourbon l'Archambault (Allier), in consequence of the hardships of the siege of Barcelona; June 25th, 1715. Chevalier of Saint-Louis; November 20th, 1697. Commander of the Order of Saint-Louis, with a pension of 4,000 livres; June 2nd, 1711. Chevalier of the Order of the Golden Fleece; April, 1712. *Campaigns.* In 1677, distinguishes himself particularly at the capture of the fort of Arguin, belonging to the Dutch (West Coast of Africa). In reward for this feat of arms, the Senegal Company appoints him one of its directors. In April, 1679, he concludes a treaty which give to France a territory of 300 square leagues. In 1685, on his return to France, captures a Dutch fleet, taking possession of it after prodigies of valour. In 1687, commands the frigate *Tempête* (mission to the Guinea coast). In 1689, commands the vessels *Hasardeux*, *Emerillon*, *Loire* and *Bretonne* (expedition to Surinam and Berbice, Dutch Guiana). In 1690, assists at the taking of the English fort of Saint Christopher.

(1) His baptismal certificate was drawn up at Sambusse (Béarn), August 2nd, 1646.

NAME & DESCRIPTION	DETAIL OF SERVICES
	Campaigns. In 1691, brings such adequate and brave assistance to the island of Guadeloupe, besieged by the English, that they are obliged to raise the siege and withdraw. In 1694 and 1695, several times descends upon and lays waste the island of Jamaica, causing nearly 25 millions of livres losses to the English, from whom he captures 14 colours. In 1697, assists with de Pointis at the capture of Carthagena, where he is one of the first in that town. Then, the English having landed at Petit-Goave (Saint Domingo), he rallies 200 men and pushes the English back to the sea. In 1701, gives up the government of Saint Domingo, which he leaves in a most flourishing condition, after having repelled all the attacks of the English upon this colony. In 1702, near Sainte-Marthe, with a squadron of four ships, fights five desperate engagements with an English squadron of seven ships. The English are put to flight. (August 30th-September 3rd). In 1704, commands the *Intrépide* at the battle of Vilez-Malaga, won by the Comte de Toulouse (August 24th). Seriously wounded in the leg. In 1707, commands a squadron of seven ships and four frigates, despatched to bring back from the Spanish Indies the fleet of New Spain laden with immense riches. He returns to Brest on September 7th, 1708 with the Spanish fleet and six English ships captured on the voyage. In 1712, commanding an important squadron, returns to Corunna with several English prizes, and with richly laden galleons which he has protected from all the enemy's attempts to capture them. In 1714, commands the naval forces blockading Barcelona from the sea. Compelled by his infirmities to resign his command before the end of the campaign, he returns to France and dies at Bourbon l'Archambault from the effects of wounds on June 25th, 1715.

In witness whereof the present certificate has been delivered to prove and to attest. Made at Paris, the 10th day of June, 1927.

JACQUES CASSARD

Different types of French Corsairs in the Mediterranean.

JACQUES CASSARD

CORSAIR

Among the young apprentices who served upon the ships of M. de Pointis's fleet at the attack on Carthagena of the Indies in 1697, whereat the filibusters of Governor Ducasse distinguished themselves, Jacques Cassard, a native of the good town of Nantes, showed considerable cleverness in assuring the dangerous service of the bombing ketches. Cassard, who was then nineteen years old, was unrivalled in the manoeuvring of his little vessel with its two swivel guns, and in the boldness with which he got as near as possible to the enemy defences. M. de Pointis did not hide his satisfaction, and was profuse in his praises.

Jacques Cassard was a sailor by instinct, and he inherited that instinct for the sea from his ancestors, hardy, good sailors from Lower-Brittany. His father had been a captain in the mercantile marine, and, in the XVIIth century, this was a hard life, for not only had the sailor to fight against the waves, but often, also, against the pirates, Every merchant ship was, in some measure, a warship. It was for this reason that Captain Cassard thought it well to entrust his son to the privateers of Saint Malo and their captains, to whom the dangers of their occupation were familiar matters. The lessons and the apprenticeship which Jacques Cassard received from the privateering captains were never forgotten. Moreover, the privateer-owners of Saint Malo were largely responsible for financing the expedition to Carthagena under Admiral de Pointis, and thus is to be explained the presence of the young apprentice among the crew of the French fleet, dispatched to the « mainland of America ».

The War of the Spanish Succession found Cassard at Nantes, where he was fitting out a ship for the gentlemen of the « quay de la Fosse ». He showed himself to be a bold corsair, and swept the Bay of Biscay and the high seas from Paimboeuf to the Channel Islands.

The decadence of our navy, due to its bad management by Pontchartrain, caused Lieutenant Jacques Cassard, to continue his privateering ventures in the Channel, on behalf of the privateers of Saint Malo. It was the only way to be sure of receiving regular pay and a certain

amount of profit. Jacques Cassard was poor, and he had to support his sisters who lived sparely upon a slender income left by their late father. The Saint Malo shipowners gave Cassard the command of a fine corvette, *Le Jersey,* a ship which sailed well and was to do marvels in the hands of the young lieutenant. A series of fine prizes put the finishing touches to the young man's reputation. A small squadron was entrusted to him, and, in 1707, Cassard cruised up and down the Channel with a frigate flying his own flag, and two corvettes.

In September 1708, Cassard's little squadron sighted a strong convoy of thirty-five sail. The young man did not hesitate. He had only three vessels of his own, but he counted on the probability that the convoy, hampered by the ships under its care, and itself only composed of merchant vessels, would not be able to put up much resistance. The frigate and its two corvettes put on all sail and were bearing down upon the convoy when, suddenly, from behind the fleet there appeared a big ship of the line. Cassard steered his ship straight for her, and engaged her boldly while his corvettes dealt individually with the ships of the convoy. The French frigate's attack upon the English warship was so vigorous that the larger ship was compelled to fly. Cassard returned to Saint Malo with a fine string of prizes. A few weeks later he went to sea again, and captured another eight vessels. During the famine of 1709, the French Admiralty, knowing Cassard's valour, gave him the task of convoying several ships carrying wheat to Marseilles. The Royal Treasury was hardly in a fit state to fit out new vessels, and Cassard was obliged to approach the shipowners of Marseilles. They lent him two flutes, and these he fitted out as frigates at his own expense. Setting out to sea, he first convoyed some ships that were going to the ports of the Levant, and then, flying his flag on the *Eclatant,* set off at the head of the fleet that was to carry cereals to France. All was going well, when off the coast of Corsica, a detachment of five English ships threatened the convoy. Jacques Cassard, determined to bring his mission to a successful end, made every effort to defend his convoy, firing broadsides on either hand and covering his merchant ships all the time, and so succeeded in keeping off the enemy, and bringing the French ships into Toulon. The *Eclatant,* with an English ship pressing her on either side, forced one to give up

the struggle, and dealt so severely with the other that it sank. Back at Marseilles, Cassard, exceedingly and quite legitimately angry, found that he could not get back the money he had laid out « because these gentlemen of the port considered he had not fulfilled his contract,

The Entrance to the Harbour of Saint Domingo

the convoy having been obliged to put in at Toulon and not at Marseilles. » This was a poor excuse indeed, but it was the cause of many misfortunes to Cassard, and the beginning of an interminable lawsuit which was to end with the imprisonment of the corsair for the rest of his life.

The Admiralty reported Cassard's exploits to the Court, and the royal ears came to hear of them. Louis XIV, who was always anxious to attract corsairs of any renown to the service of the French Navy, summoned Cassard to Versailles. History has immortalized the arrival of these good captains, bronzed by sun and spray, shy and embarrassed, without any knowledge of the prescribed etiquette, who as they passed through the Gallery of Mirrors, aroused an indiscreet and none too charitable curiosity

in the courtiers. Jacques Cassard, much less sure of himself than he was on his own quarter deck, was admitted to the King's study. « Sir » said Louis, « you get yourself much spoken of. In my navy I need men of your worth. I have appointed you Frigate-Lieutenant, and given orders that you shall receive a gratuity of 2,000 livres. And the corsair went down the steps of the great staircase with his commission as a King's officer in his hand.

The terrible famine which harassed the kingdom in 1712 found Jacques Cassard still fighting his owners' lawyers at Marseilles. It was in this port that he received orders to cruise around the Cape Verde Islands and pillage the Portuguese towns. He was given a fine squadron of three ships of the line, five frigates and two ketches. The expedition was fitted out privately, but the majority of the officers belonged to the Royal Navy, and even to the « grand corps ». Among them were de Grasse, de Pienne and de Sabran.

In the Spring of 1712, Jacques Cassard's squadron sailed from Marseilles. Passing quickly through the Straits of Gibraltar, the little French fleet sailed in the direction of the Cape Verde Islands, whose palm trees were sighted on the 7th of May. An English ship of the line which attacked the French, was so vigorously bombarded that it had to strike its flag after an hour's fighting. Cassard then presented himself before the port of Praya, on the island of San-Thiego. The Portuguese governor offered no resistance, and surrendered, paying the heavy indemnity that was demanded of him. Cruising about the islands, the squadron took post before the centre of the archipelago, the port of Ribeira-Grande where a stiff resistance was anticipated but the governor and the garrison had thought it wiser to betake themselves to the middle of the island. The sailors entered the town, blew up the defences, spiking some of the batteries, and collected considerable spoil valued at more than a million. The operation had succeeded perfectly, but having been warned of the presence of some important English ships, Jacques Cassard, who wished to make his prizes secure, thought fit to make for our islands in the West Indies instead of trying to get back into the Mediterranean. In a few weeks, the squadron reached the Caribbean sea and cast anchor under cover of the guns of Fort-Royal de la Martinique. The story of his short

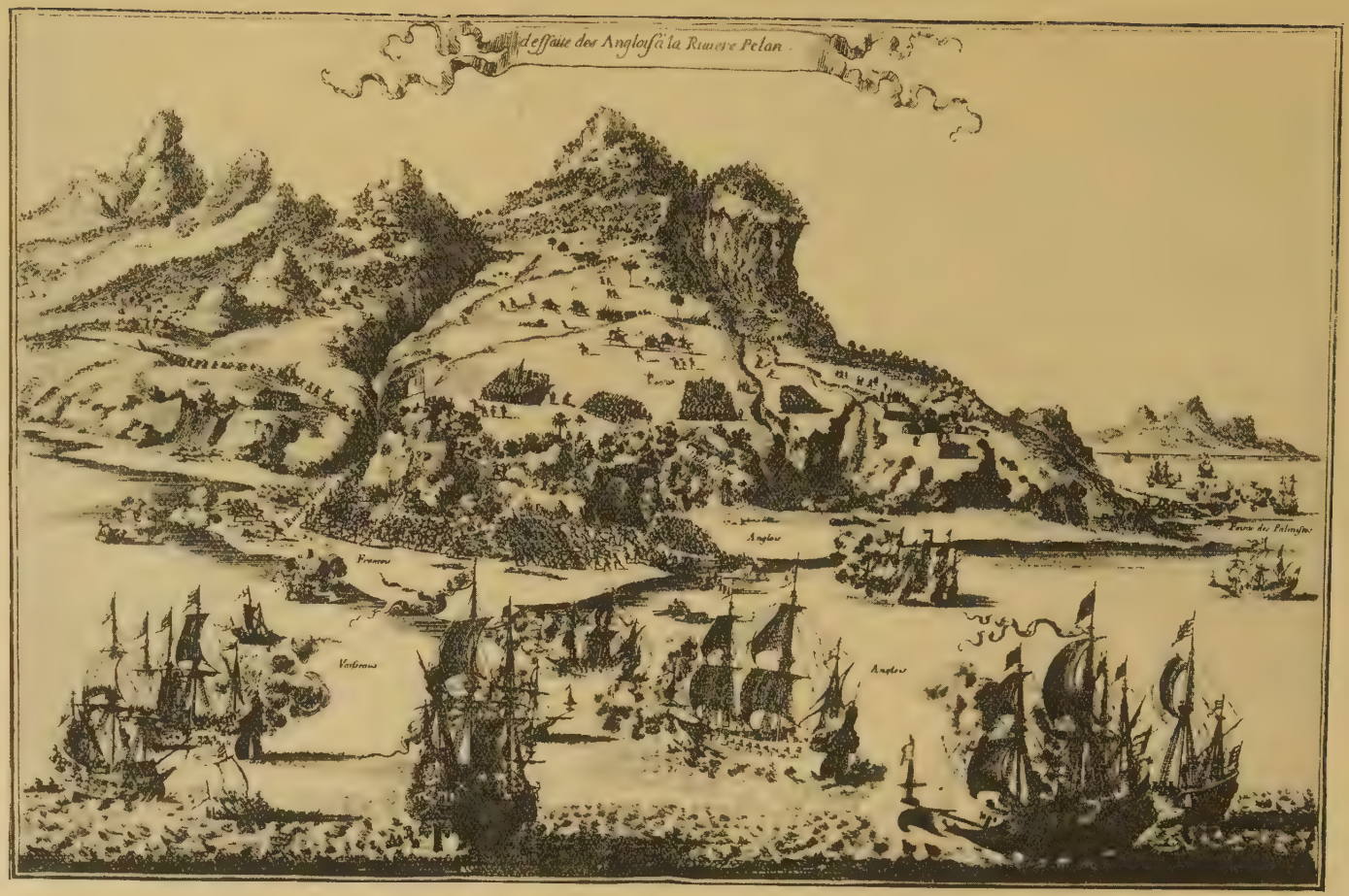
Galley under sail, flying the Commodore's Flag.
(Engraving by Randon)

but brilliant campaign had gone the rounds of the filibusters of Martinique and Saint Domingo. Cassard received a number of propositions that he should organize a cruise, and, knowing the valour of the Brothers of the Coast, he agreed to increase his squadron by a few fly-boats manned by filibusters from Turtle Island, Petit Goyave, or other of their haunts. He signed very precise charter-parties with the Brothers of the Coast, and promised not to act towards the filibusters as de Pointis had done at the attack on Carthagena. The expedition was ready at the beginning of June 1712, and its object was to secure the riches of the English colony, the island of Montferrat.

It was a bold undertaking. The island was very precipitous, and it had been well supplied with defences. Cassard decided upon a quick, sharp attack. Having reached the island on the 10th of July, he began by firing all his batteries, and, under cover of the smoke, landed the filibusters and the volunteers. These pushed back the defenders upon the town of Montferrat, while the sailors hastily disembarked several guns from the ships, set them upon carriages previously prepared and hauled them along, thus allowing batteries to be set up that made a breach in the forts. This bold manoeuvre broke down the English resistance; the garrison withdrew in disorder to the neighbouring hills, while the filibusters dashed to the assault, and laid hands upon all the wealth in the town. Several hundreds of black slaves were collected, much coin and many precious things, and all was placed aboard four English pataches which were captured in the harbour, and sent to Fort-Royal de la Martinique. Jacques Cassard's cruise continued.

The fleet now sailed for the island of Antigua; the same method of attack as that which succeeded at Montferrat was put into operation again: a tremendous fire from the ships' batteries, the disembarkation of the Brothers of the Coast and of guns. The English, terror stricken by this savage mode of attack, rushed on board the ships in the harbour, and rowed or sailed away as hard as they could, leaving the island and its wealth to the filibusters and Cassard's sailors. Once again, Fort-Royal de la Martinique saw Jacques Cassard's ships enter the harbour, and disembark a treasure.

Cassard, encouraged by this success, then decided to strike a decisive



Defeat of the English on the Pelan River.
(Engraving of the late XVIIth century)

blow and, with the help of the filibusters, to destroy the prosperous Dutch settlements in Guiana. This purpose was in accord with the ideas of the Minister of the Navy, and the more interested hopes of the Brothers of the Coast. But the undertaking was not easy. Upon the banks of the Surinam river, the Dutch had set up an important establishment where the cultivation of coffee, cotton, cocoa and sugar cane produced very satisfactory results. Warehouses, sugar factories, stores, all were there. At the time when Cassard took it into his head to attack the Dutch colony, it contained four thousand white settlers, with fifty thousand odd negroes working under their orders. The town was protected by the river, whose sandbanks made navigation difficult except at high tide. Situated at the meeting of the Commenwine and the Surinam, the young city was easy to defend. A battery had been installed on the banks of the Surinam, another on the Commenwine which, upon the left bank, bore a strong citadel christened Amsterdam, and this was bordered by a marsh. But there was more still : behind this first line of defence, the Dutch had set up in front of the harbour of Paramaribo, which was the centre of the settlement, a strong battery with bastions which they called the Zeelandia fortress : another fortress, Fort Sommervault, which was no less imposing, guarded the entrance. The troops available for the defence numbered twelve hundred soldiers together with the colonial militia which was made up, as was then usual, of all the settlers capable of bearing arms. It was a hard nut to crack, even for Jacques Cassard's brave lads.

But he did not hesitate. Leaving Fort-Royal at the end of September, he was before the mouth of the Surinam on the 9th of October. There he cast anchor. Hoping to gain the advantage of surprise, he embarked eleven hundred men in longboats, and, during the night, started up the river. But the Dutch, who had had warning of his expedition, did not allow themselves to be surprised ; their batteries were ready, and eighty fire-ports only waited for a signal to rake the boats. Cassard saw the danger and took back his longboats, then, with his men all on board again, made up his mind to force the entrance. Frigates, corvettes and flyboats got under way, and firing first one broadside, then another, tried to silence the batteries on the banks of the river ; but the low tide interfered with the operation, and they had to wait for the ebb. It seemed more

CHEBECK

Les Chebecks sont des petits Bâtiments propres a la course, et pour des commissions particulieres, qui demandent de la vitesse, ils sont très communs sur la Mediterranée, et naviguent avec beaucoup d'avantage dans les belles mers, a cause de leurs voiles latines A. *qui sont fort grandes, mais dans les grands vents et grosses mers, ils mettent des voiles plus petites, ou des treoux* B, *qui sont plus aisés a manœuvrer, et moins dangereuses que les premieres. Les Chebecks, portent leurs canons, comme les fregates, c'est a dire sur les cotés, ainsi qu'on le peut voir par celui qui est representé dans la Vignette, il est de 14. canons, on en construit des plus petits qui conservent toujours la meme forme, les plus grands sont de 24. a 30. Canons.*

than likely that the attempt would fail ; between the Castle and the town, a formidable battery of a hundred and thirty guns was encountered. It defended the only free passage, an arm of the river. To take the town « it was necessary to suffer the fire of this battery, reach the other shore of the river and cut a way overland ». Cassard sent a hundred filibusters under the command of a « sieur Beaudinard », who found a way through the marshes and thickets and seized an isolated farm upon the other bank of the river. The « last hopes » were reinforced. Cassard himself saw to it, ordering the frigate *Méduse* to go up the river. The operation took place during the night, but the Dutch lighted up the channel with great torches. The *Méduse* was soon riddled like a sieve, and went aground. Cassard, jumping into a boat, leapt on board, revived the courage of his men, and, with the aid of ropes, despite the enemy fusillade, dragged off the frigate and got over the difficulty. Meanwhile, Cassard's men crossed the river, then, advancing by regular stages, under Captain de l'Espinay, attacked a house beyond on while the first was already being turned into a redoubt. Jacques Cassard with « a section of filibusters » twenty leagues farther on, attacked a Dutch outpost, mastered it and left a garrison in it under the Chevalier de Grasse. A lively fight lasted for a whole day along the battle front, but one by one the sugar factories were captured, in spite of the Dutch resistance.

The rising tide having allowed the fleet to continue its attack, Cassard then began a vigorous offensive, well supported by his ships' batteries. The Dutch, forced to withstand the ardour of the Brothers of the Coast, handled their guns badly, and the deluge of fire that swept the forts and the town, set fire to them and caused the powder magazines to blow up. But they only yielded at the very moment when our assaulting columns were on the point of breaking ; then in the face of the filibusters' rallying cries and shouts of pillage, the defence collapsed, and the white flag was hoisted. So within forty-eight hours, Surinam was taken and made to pay a formidable sum as ransom ; two millions of livres, in money and slaves, sugar and coffee, nearly in fact, the whole of a year's produce. The Brothers of the Coast were allowed to sack the houses in the surrounding country, and this they did with quite professional conscientiousness.

Jacques Cassard then detached from his squadron a frigate, a bombing-

LA VILLE DE LA BASSE TERRE DANS L'ISLE DE LA GUADELOUPE

Vue du Mouillage

ketch and two fly-boats under the command of Captain de Grasse to « mop up the coast » and hold to ransom the settlements at Berbiche and Essequibo. Then they sailed back to Martinique where they received a triumphant welcome.

Cassard was not the man to rest upon his laurels. At the beginning of 1713, the young captain prepared a new expedition against the Dutch possessions of Saint-Eustache and Curaçoa, in the West Indies. Saint-Eustache was taken without any difficulty, but Curaçao was another matter. At Martinique they had not forgotten the disaster which overtook Vice-Admiral d'Estrées, who, in 1678, after his splendid capture of Tobago, had left a part of his fleet on the reefs at Curaçoa. Besides, Curacoa was excellently fortified and had a large garrison. The captains advised Cassard to abandon his idea of such a risky undertaking, but the stubborn Breton refused to listen to them. Haranguing his crews, Cassard won them over, and got their approval for his schemes.

On the 18th of February, 1713, the squadron, at anchor in the bay of Sainte-Croix, five leagues from the town of Curaçoa, landed its contingents. Using a corsair's trick, Jacques Cassard set his ships athwart, and the Dutch concluded that the squadron was about to sail for some other landing place. Unfortunately, the current carried off three ships, one of which was the *Rubis* with Captain de Sabran, thus reducing Cassard's strength. He went ashore with a hundred soldiers and six hundred filibusters, and, drums beating, dashed forward to storm the Dutch intrenchments, in the face of an intense fusillade. The earthworks were carried, as though they had been the deck of a ship, by storm. Cassard, wounded in the foot, propped up under a tree, continued to direct the fight, rallying his men who, inspired by the boldness of Captain de l'Espinay, forced their way into the trenches, and drove back the Dutch who even left their colours behind them. The *Rubis,* which had again been able to come up against the current, then disembarked its guns and mortars. Its captain, Beaudeville, after establishing a land battery to bombard the town of Curaçoa, dispatched a column to deal with the city's defences. Cassard, back on board his ship, lying upon a mattress, provided a lively diversion upon the sea front. Ten days fighting was necessary before the Governor would capitulate.

The town was ransomed for a payment of six hundred thousand livres.

Once more returned to Martinique, Jacques Cassard in March, 1713, received orders to join a French squadron which was returning to France. It was on this voyage that took place the following incident which is well known in the annals of the sea : Cassard could not refrain from ordering his ships to attack an English squadron upon which he came, and when he was blamed for this by his chief, he answered : « Wherever I find the enemies of my Minister, I shall consider it my duty to attack them. »

The successful campaigns which Jacques Cassard had just carried out brought him the cross of Saint-Louis and the rank of Captain. But peace having robbed him of any further opportunity to « chase the enemies of the King », Jacques Cassard was encouraged to pursue his chimerical law suit against the gentlemen of the town of Marseilles. He used up all his energy in complaints and piling up one memorandum upon another. He addressed his requests to Versailles, to Aix-en-Provence, played the lobbyist in vain and became more and more embittered every day. When Cardinal Fleury had assumed power, Cassard went to Paris, and by sheer importunity, laughed at by some and scorned by others, he succeeded in obtaining an audience with the First Minister. That was an evil day for the brave corsair. Brought face to face with the scepticism and cold irony of the cardinal, Jacques Cassard could no longer contain himself. All the hatred that had accumulated since 1712 got the mastery of him, and he went so far as to insult the master of the day.

The corsair left the wainscotted study of the cardinal between two of the French Guards, and was packed off to the fortress of Ham. The heavy doors of the prison never again opened before the prisoner who, after languishing for fourteen years in a dungeon, died in 1740 forgotten by everyone. Only, far off, the last of the filibusters, now grown steady, and, for the most part, become honourable « settlers », still remembered the exploits of the valiant corsair from Nantes.

The Royal Navy at the time of Louis XV. From left to right : Captain of the Marines; Captain and Soldier of the Galley Regiment; Marine. (From Marbot.)

DULAÏEN

CAPTAIN OF THE FILIBUSTERS.

Under Louis XV, the Brothers of the Coast no longer enjoyed the same favour in the eyes of the colonial authorities as they had done in the time of Admiral Jean-Baptiste Ducasse, Governor of Saint Domingo. They were treated as « outside the law », and, moreover, the West Indies, whether Martinique, Guadeloupe or Saint Domingo, were becoming covered with homesteads, where colonists cultivated sugar cane or indigo. The quiet creeks had become little harbours, and the bush wherein the buccaneers used to hunt was disappearing as the ground was cleared. The filibusters, tracked down by the militia, could no longer gather for their old expeditions and were compelled to become pirates or « forbans », pillaging and holding to ransom the boats they met with as they roamed the Caribbean sea, without caring what flag these ships flew, whether English, French, Dutch or Spanish.

Governors and colonists continually complained to Versailles of the insecurity of traffic by sea caused by the misdeeds of the filibusters. The Governor-General of the Windward Islands, Gousset de la Rochelar, in 1724, persuaded the Admiralty, to send Admiral de Gencien with a squadron to the West Indies to drive out the pirates. Two years later, in 1726, Admiral de la Jonquières made a cruise along the coast of Martinique for the same purpose. The English Admiralty did the same. The last of the Brothers of the Coast scattered before the danger that threatened

them. Some went to the mainland of America, to the Darien Straits and there founded a kind of colony ; but the majority prefered to continue their privateering for, occasionally, it offered a brilliant opportunity. Upon their light fly-boats the pirates made sport of the King's ships, and slipped through the nets set for them by frigates, corvettes and flutes.

Other means were ought to rid the Caribbean sea of the Corsairs

Fort Royal in the Island of Martinique, from the anchorage.

who scoured it, and one was the Royal Decree of the 5th of September, 1718, offering a full and complete pardon to all such pirates as should go to France to disarm and give up their fly-boats.

Several filibusters took advantage of the royal clemency, and benefitted by the Decree of 1718, but they found it hard to retire from their chosen profession without the more or less considerable profits with which their boldness had endowed them. It happened, for, as the proverb says : « wealth wrongly come by never prospers, » that some made the very great mistake of entrusting their treasure to the King's authorities, who were sufficiently tactless as to wish to find out whence it had come. This is what happened to the pirate captain Dulaïen, of the port of Nantes (1).

Captain Dulaïen, born in Lower Brittany in 1704 had received a good grounding, and possessed a « pilot's » certificate, in other words that of a captain qualified to undertake long voyages. In 1727, he was upon the Mexican coast, as mate, upon a shady kind of ship whose crew was half Spanish, half French. Dulaïen was then twenty-three years

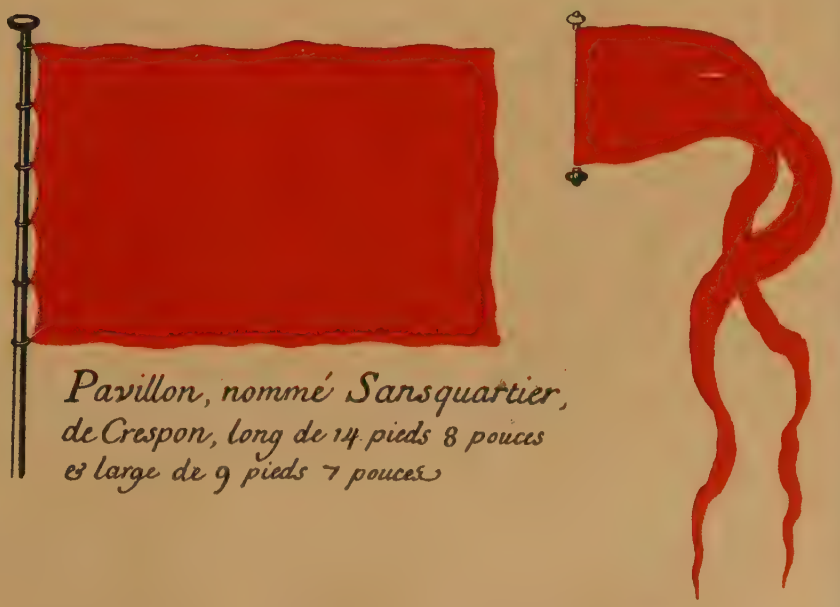
(1) For further details about this personage, my work *Vieux Papiers du Temps des Isles*, should be consulted.

PAVILLONS ET FLAME

du Navire Forban nommé le Sanspitié

arrivé à la Coste du Pouliguen pres de Nantes, le 20.e Mars 1729.

Pavillon de Ras de S.t Maur, long de 22 pieds 9 pouces & large de 14 pieds 9 pouces.



Pavillon, nommé Sansquartier, de Crespon, long de 14 pieds 8 pouces & large de 9 pieds 7 pouces.

Flags and Pennant of the Pirate Ship " Sans Pitié ". The red flag below is the Flag of Defiance.

old and he thought it high time for him to succeed in life. His knowledge of the seas around the West Indies suggested a course of action to him, and, one evening when there was a dead calm, a furious quarrel having broken out between French and hildagos on the deck, Dulaïen showed what he was made of. Taking the lead of his fellow countrymen, the mate led an attack upon the Spanish part of the crew. There was a desperate

Ship being careened. (Engraving by Ozanne.)

struggle, on the deck, in the hold and in the tops, and when dawn broke, the French were throwing into the sea the last of the Spanish corpses. Dulaïen was proclaimed a filibuster captain, and straightway christened his ship the *Sans Pitié*. This name was a programme in itself.

The corsair flag was hoisted. Its design has been preserved at the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and this agrees with the description given in a letter from M. Mellier, mayor of the good town of Nantes, to M. de Maurepas. « This flag » wrote the mayor, « is made of black material with white markings upon it which seem like representations of a head cut off with a cutlass, together with bones and a sandglass. »

Captain Dulaïen brought his boat into Saint Domingo waters, and anchored in the harbour of Turtle Island. There he recruited a few Brothers of the Coast, and began cruising up and down the coasts of Jamaica There is reason to believe that Dulaïen's ventures in filibustering were prosperous, for he fitted out a second ship which he had captured and whose qualities as a good sailing ship he appreciated. The said ship was baptised with the name of *Sans Quartier,* and furnished with the same black flag with the death's head. For a year, Captain Dulaïen privateered, chasing all the boats he met, whether French or not, and his last prize was the *Saint Louis,* a trading brig, whose captain was Jacques Dausset. It was the day after the capture of this prize that Dulaïen the corsair hastily made for the Turtle. The archives of the Chamber of Commerce of Nantes contain the deposition which was made at the admiralty of that town by Jacques Dausset, with regard to the events which followed the return of Dulaïen's ships to the harbour of Turtle Island. As soon as the pirate ships arrived, they began their work of pillage, completely sacking all the hovels that were grouped below the fort that Governor d'Ogeron had built in 1667. Dulaïen ordered that the *Sans Pitié* should be careened after its long voyage. It was understood that as soon as this had been done the *Sans Pitié* should go to sea again, whilst the *Sans Quartier* should go and be docked in its place.

The careening of the *Sans Pitié* was quickly done, and the ship was afloat again. The crew, still on shore, awaited their master's orders. Dulaïen had just removed all his personal belongings from the *Sans Quartier,* his flag-ship, as well as *a large chest, wherein was the Treasure in gold and silver coin, gold dust, and objects made of gold, the whole being worth perhaps 160,000 livres.* From these preparations Dulaïen's men formed the conclusion that their leader was himself going to take charge of the *Sans Pitié's* next cruise. It was the beginning of January 1728, and a slight swell swung the *Sans Pitié* back and forth upon the roads of Turtle Island. There were only ten men on board, and Dulaïen, getting into his hyouyou, left the town, leaving his filibusters playing lansquenet, faro and other games for getting rid of their share of the prizes, in the gaming houses. Hauled up on the shore, the *Sans Quartier* awaited the attention of the careeners.

Quickly Dulaïen ran up the rope ladder, and jumping upon the

LE FORT S[t] PIERRE DANS L'ISLE DE LA MARTINIQUE
Vu du Mouillage.

bulwark, whistled softly. Straightway, the ten lads on board the *Sans Pitie* weighed anchor, and running to left and right, began to hoist the sails. This strange procedure caused no little surprise to the filibusters left on shore. They ran down to the water's edge, and questioned one another without understanding.

Suddenly, the *Sans Pitié* turned to leave the roads, and as the wind filled out her sails, the filibusters saw Dulaïen, standing on the edge of the bulwark. He had a trumpet in his hand, and they heard their master call :

Adieu! Adieu! you rascals! I am going to France, and will be no more a pirate!

The shrewdest of the filibusters then realised that their captain was abandoning his occupation for ever, and was going to France to take advantage of the amnesty offered by the decree of the 5th of September, 1718. Soon the little boat, heeling over, with its reefs and royal set, made haste to the mother country.

The winds were favourable, and a month's sailing brought Dulaïen to the coasts of France and the port of Nantes. The anchor was cast downstream, and the captain, who was thoroughly conversant with the maritime regulations, sent an express to the commissary of the port of Nantes, M. Renault, informing him of his desire and that of his ship's company to secure a letter of pardon. The commissary, very much at a loss to know what answer to make to the sieur Dulaïen, referred the matter to the Governor of Nantes, then to the Comte de Menou, who, in turn, asked the opinion of the Syndics of Commerce. These having declined to interfere, the Comte brought the matter to the notice of the Minister of the Navy, M. de Maurepas. The officials carefully considered the matter, a dossier was drawn up, and in the end M. de Maurepas could think of no other solution than to take the matter to the Council and let the King decide. The terms of the decision we know in the form in which they reached M. Renault. *His Majesty,* writes the Comte de Maurepas, *to whom I have related both the representations of M. de Menou, Governor of Nantes, and of the principal business people, has deigned to grant an amnesty.* But M. de Maurepas added : *It would have been preferable to seize these pirates. They are but few in numbers, and if the wind had allowed them to get out, they could easily have been followed by a few well armed ships. But as this has not been done, they must be permitted to enjoy His Majesty's pardon.*

But this was by no means a full and entire pardon, for the King granted it only *on condition that Dulaïen and his men give the said ship, their arms and other effects that may be upon it, into the hands of the officers of the Admiralty, and make an exact declaration of those they may have left elsewhere, or disembarked upon the coast of Brittany on their arrival, as also of their conduct until the time of their return.*

It was now several weeks since the *Sans Pitié* had arrived in the estuary of the Loire, and the corsairs enjoyed themselves to the full in all the neighbouring villages. Dulaïen himself went to Pouliguen to embrace his old mother, and showed himself even in Nantes, where he had acquired a mistress, a tavern keeper named Kesly. Then too, the crew went backwards and forwards between the shore and the deck of the *Sans Pitié*, carrying with them packets sometimes large, sometimes small, several of which had found their way to the captain's mother. So the conditions which Versailles imposed were not altogether pleasing to the pirates. When the official letter had been received, Dulaïen and his companions, as the sun was rising, put ashore the famous chest, bulging with its precious contents, containing indeed riches to the value of 160,000 livres. Nobody knew where they hid it. They had plenty of time to empty the holds of the *Saint-Pitié*, for it was nine days after they received the order that those excellent gentlemen, the officers of the Admiralty, proceeded to board the ship. Then the *Sans Pitié* was taken up river, and moored to the quay and the authorities proceeded to make an inventory. They found nothing on board but ten guns, two swivel guns, muskets, axes, swords and so forth, while the cargo consisted of a few piles of old clothing and old breeches, mouldy victuals, merchandise more or less valualess, and a few scanty parcels of gold dust. The arms were sent to the King's magazines and the few ounces of gold dust to the Mint.

The shipowners of Nantes, who had often suffered from Dulaïen's piracies, had not the least doubt that those aboard the *Sans Pitié* were making fools of the authorities. Complaints poured in, and M. de Maurepas ordered M. du Rocher, Procurator General of the Admiralty, to sift the business thoroughly. An elaborate investigation was set on foot, reports and counter reports followed one another, piles of rubbishy papers were accumulated. and two years after the Dulaïen case was started, they had

not found a single one of the pirates' hiding places. Then Versailles gave instructions that recourse should be had to an unusual method of procedure, the so-called monitory. In this, the bishop adjured the faithful, under pain of excommunication, to admit having bought or received any merchandise from the cargo of the *Sans Pitié*. Every rector was obliged to launch the episcopal anathema from the pulpit, and the fear

The Port of Nantes, from Feydeau Island. (Engraving by Ozanne.)

of hell succeeded in loosening peoples' tongues. It was discovered that Dulaïen had one hiding place at Pouliguen in his mother's humble cottage and another in his mistress's dismal lodging house. : that the sieur Prevost, ironmonger in the Rue des Chapeliers at Nantes, had paid 450 pounds for gold dust ; and that the dame Thérèse Caire, embroideress, had bought 18 ells of good English cloth. It was revealed that a merchant of the town, a certain François Gaidon, had acquired 10 ells of English drugget, and so forth. It did not even remain a secret that a very honourable churchwarden of the parish of Frossay had accepted from the pirates, indiana to make three altar frontals. True, he did not *buy* it.

But while waiting during this lengthy procedure, Dulaïen and his ten corsairs led a very merry life in the Saint-Nicolas quarter, and when evening fell, never failed to stroll along the quays of La Fosse, smoking their pipes and mingling with the crowds about the harbour. Dulaïen met several of his old victims, including Captain Dausset and the shipowners whose cargoes he had stolen. They did not hesitate to tell the corsair exactly what they thought of him, and as he made suitable reply, disputes became an everyday affair, It was a real scandal. The Colonel of the militia, M. le Comte de Lantaudoin, decided to arrest Dulaïen, and had him incarcerated in the prison of Anne of Britany, and his turbulent sailors with him. From the depths of a dungeon, the captain sent to Louis the Well-beloved a petition in which he declared himself to be a victim of the hostility of the Nantes authorities, while in reality he had obeyed *letter by letter the King's commands. They* (the pirates), *wrote the captain, are all left without the wherewithal to live, finding no refuge or ayslum in the town of Nantes. They have stayed in this condition since their arrival, without anyone taking compassion on their misery. Contrarily, indeed, they have been hounded and ill used by all. People have even gone so far as to use towards them insults and imprecations unworthy of men of our nation.* The petition reached Versailles, and the Comte de Maurepas directed the Comte de Menou to *finish off the business and give the pirates their papers of amnesty, with the exception of Dulaïen.*

The Admiralty court produced its final audit on the 26th of July, 1738, seven years after the *Sans Pitié* had cast anchor in the Loire. The ship was sold by the State for 1,021 livres, while the cost of the judicial proceedings amounted to 2,060 livres. But what became of Captain Dulaïen, we have been unable to discover.

CAPTAIN THUROT
CORSAIR AND SURGEON

Launching of the Duc de Bourgogne at Rochefort, October 20th, 1751.

FRANÇOIS THUROT

SURGEON AND CORSAIR [1]

ACCORDING TO THE BIOGRAPHY WRITTEN IN 1791
BY ONE OF HIS COUSINS, GUILLAUME THUROT (2).

Thurot's childhood at Nuits in Burgundy.

Thurot owed nothing to nobility of birth. The glory of his fame is due to himself alone. His talents, military virtues and martial deeds provide his sole title to renown. To credit him with a distinguished origin is to take from him the glory of having secured for his family the distinction which it now enjoys, and so to lessen his own merit. He was born at Nuits in Burgundy, of a middle-class family. His father, who was postmaster of that town, had built up for himself the reputation of a perfectly honest man as a wine merchant. He married the daughter of a good citizen of that place and had of her two sons and one daughter. It is the eldest whose life we are now writing. Even in his youth, he made it clear that nature had bestowed upon him a hasty and violent character; he was continually quarrelling with his comrades, ill-treating those who would not give way to him. It was in vain that he was scolded and chastised : the firmness with which his parents were obliged to treat him, only made him worse. His father, a believer in the value of education, gave him masters at an early age, but he did not long enjoy the satisfaction of watching the development of his son's talents. He died, and his widow hastened to assuage her sorrow that she might devote herself solely to the education of her son, who was then but eight years old. When she saw that he had reached an age whereat the watchfulness of a mother is no longer adequate, she determined to send him to the college of the Jesuits at Dijon. There he pursued his studies with distinction : already he showed glimpses of that ardent and passionate genius for glory which is always the certain

(1) This interesting biography comes from the *Archives de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, and is undoubtedly from the pen of Guillaume Thurot, a cousin of the captain and a business-man of Nuits, who, in 1791, desired to show the kind of man the corsair really was.

Frigate-Captain Paul Chack, the Principal Officer of Naval Records, who at our request, has been so good as to make some researches upon Captain François Thurot, informs us that there are no records of this corsair in the documents of the Navy. He tells us, further, that there once was a dossier upon this soldier in the *Archives Nationales*, but the documents have disappeared.

(2) *Translator's Note.* It shou'd be pointed out that Sir John Laughton in his *Studies in Naval History*, has questioned the reliability of this account of Thurot's life.

mark of a superior character. Dominating by nature, he made himself feared and respected by his comrades, who obeyed him as their leader. At an age when man is hardly ready even to obey, he was determined to command. He was often to be seen at the head of his class, forming plans, governing the order of the fighting, employing ruses astonishing at his age, and always at the very thick of the fighting. His skill and his intrepid courage usually brought victory to his side. Soon he became as redoubtable to his young opponents as he was later to be to the enemies of his country.

Thurot's studies in medicine.

The regular and peaceful life of the college wearied him. He had a decided taste for arms ; but his mother who feared that he would devote himself to such a profession with too great keenness, and that a premature end would take him from her, determined to make him follow that of a surgeon. It was for this that his father had intended him. Constrained by that respectful fear which a mother inspires in her children, he submitted; and, on the 1st of May, 1743, was apprenticed to Father Lardillon, Master of Surgery.

Young Thurot was too active to live a life as quiet as his studies demanded. He longed only for that moment when he could go forth to seek glory in the midst of dangers. Soon, he allowed himself to be carried away by the torrent which commonly leads a lively young man to pleasure and dissipation, and a youthful folly compelled him to leave the town of Dijon. Inspired by that impartiality which should be the guide of every historian, we shall not pass over a fact which is hardly to the credit of our hero. Those of austere virtue may perhaps condemn him, but the circumstances of the case may well serve as his excuse to those who share the weaknesses of men or women. Thurot was at an age when enthusiasm so easily transforms a vice into a virtue. (He was then seventeen years old). His mother, after her husband's death, had contracted debts, and her position was daily becoming more difficult. Thurot, who observed her distress, was troubled because he could do nothing to help her. Every day, he went to see one of his aunts whom he greatly loved and by whom he was cherished in return. One day, when he was alone in her house, he noticed some silver plate, and the idea came into his head that if he took and pledged this, the money he would get would relieve his mother

How Thurot steals to keep his mother, makes reparation but is compelled to leave Burgundy.

Ship of the line under sail.
(Engraving by N. Ozanne.)

of the cruel difficulty in which she then was. For a long time he hesitated between duty and filial devotion, and soon the feelings of his heart stifled the voice of conscience. He went off with the plate. The satisfaction he felt from the service which he was about to render to his mother made lawful, in his eyes, an action, which in any other circumstances, he would have regarded as a crime.

Unfortunately, the plate did not belong to his aunt. Counsellor Commeau, who had lent it to her, fell into a furious rage, and swore that he would prosecute him who had taken it. Already, reflection had shown Thurot the extent of his fault, and terrified by the Counsellor's threats, he ran to one of his relations, owned the truth to him, and after recovering the plate, as his relative advised, he gave it back to his aunt. Then, full of grief and repentance, he resolved that very same day to leave Dijon, never to return.

Such is the explanation of the mystery that so long existed with regard to Thurot's birthplace. His delicacy exaggerated a mistake the motives whereof had come simply from kindness of heart, and that was further excused by his age. He was always afraid that this action would damage his fortune and his reputation, but, what in the eyes of every thinking man will redound to his credit, is that he was the last to forget it.

Without any assistance from his family, he set out, with no luggage save the clothes he wore, two shirts, and about 24 francs in his pocket. One of his first cousins, of the same name as himself, went as far as Bourg with him. This was the only friend he had in his own family; it was also the only one whom, in his prosperity, he would recognise, and whom he sincerely loved. When they parted, he told him that it was his intention to go to sea, and that he would make men speak of him, or perish.

Thurot reaches Calais, and sails in a corsair.

Thurot journeyed to Calais; the sight of the sea filled him with surprise and admiration; he thought that element made for him, and he adopted it. His soul, which was incapable of fear, saw no danger in his confiding himself to the weakness of a ship; it was inspired by the joy of braving the waves, fighting and vanquishing enemies, and returning to port laden with spoil and covered with glory. The circle of hope seemed to expand before his eyes; his desire to serve his country was reinforced by an anxiety to satisfy his passion for glory. War had broken out between

France and England, and a corsair was being fitted out at Dunkirk; he obtained permission to join the ship as surgeon. Thurot was then sheltered from the dangers to which hot-headed youth is exposed in a town, but he was soon to be surrounded by that host of perils which never cease to assail the seaman. During his first voyage it seemed that Fortune wished to find out what he was made of. Shortly after he embarked, the

CLAUDE, COMTE DE FORBIN,
CHEF D'ESCADRE, CHEVALIER DE l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de St. Louis
né en 1656; mort en 1733

ship in which he served was captured by the English, and Thurot taken prisoner to Dover. This was in the month of August, 1744.

It may well be imagined how unbearable the idea of captivity was to a man of his temperament; his mind was too active to remain unoccupied. His insatiable eagerness to know and to learn decided him to bear resignedly an evil that could not be avoided. He studied the English, learned their language, inquired about their manners and usages, and so profited by what he heard that, later on, he was able to use his knowledge to good purpose.

At last, the spur of liberty made itself keenly felt. He wished to be free, because he wished to become a great man, but he had not fortune enough to pay his own ransom, and since he had not been captured in one of the King's ships, the Minister did not trouble about him.

About November of the same year, the Marshal de Belle-Isle and the Comte his brother, were taken prisoner and transferred to London. Louis XV had appointed the Marshal his plenipotentiary to the Duke of Bavaria, who had been proclaimed Emperor under the name of Charles VII, and to the King of Prussia who was in Silesia. As they were returning from Munich, the Marshal and his brother passed through Cassel, as they had been ordered, and went their way unsuspectingly in a country where post stages had been established which, according to the agreements made between the princes of Germany, were regarded as neutral and inviolable. But the Marshal and his brother, taking horse at one of these stages, in a small town called Elbingrode, belonging to the Elector of Hanover, were arrested by the Hanoverian bailiff, ill-used and sent to England.

The French Ministry complained that this imprisonment of an ambassador was a violation of the law of nations, but its just complaints received no attention in England.

Thurot, learning that the Marshal de Belle-Isle was a prisoner in England, sought and found means to see him and pay court to him; he begged the Marshal to interest himself in helping him to regain his freedom. The British Minister, reflecting that there were more English prisoners in France than French in England, proposed to Louis XV to restore the cartel which had been suspended owing to the detention of the Marshal de Belle-Isle. His Most Christian Majesty agreed, and the Marshal was set free. Thurot asked M. de Belle-Isle to have him included among the French prisoners, but he had not yet distinguished himself, and the Marshal gave the preference to soldiers and sailors who had served the State with him.

Taken prisoner by the English, he escapes in a boat.

A short time afterwards, M. de Belle-Isle returned to France, and salvoes were fired from Dover Castle as a signal for his departure. Thurot heard them and felt a thrill of joy. Determined to sacrifice everything to recover his freedom, he had nothing but his youth and courage to furnish

the necessary means. Wandering about all day, he waited until nightfall and then went to the harbour. There, taking counsel only of his own bold courage, he jumped into a boat which he saw by itself, took possession of it, loosed it, made a sail of his shirt fixing it to a little square yard and so, alone, delivered himself to the inconstancy of the winds and the fury of the waves. He sailed, he rowed, with such vivacity that when dawn broke, he was already far from the English coast. He was overwhelmed by weariness, but his presence of mind did not abandon him. He made for Calais, and after a thousand dangers, reached the harbour of that town a few hours after the Marshal de Belle-Isle himself. The boldness of his escape caused some sensation, and the Marshal wished to see the young man. He was delighted with the assured tone in which Thurot related his adventure, took a liking to the young man and convinced that much was to be

Thurot crosses the Channel in a barque, using his shirt as a sail.

L'ENTRÉE DU PORT DE DUNKERQUE
Vue de la Rade

expected from one who, at the age of eighteen, had successfully carried out so daring an enterprise, advised him to make a serious study of the navy, and promised to take him under his protection.

Nature had endowed Thurot with useful traits of character which only awaited circumstances to develop themselves. Warmly encouraged by the favourable welcome which M. de Belle-Isle had given him, he set to work with all the attention and keenness of which he was capable, to study mathematics, charts and seamanship. Feeling that theory without practice was insufficient, he went to sea, and filled every position there was to fill.

Thurot, who has determined to become a captain, eagerly learns the duties of a sailor.

Like Jean-Bart, he started as a cabin boy, and distinguished himself in that position. Then, his knowledge increasing, he was raised to the rank of seaman ; soon after, to that of pilot. Finally he became a captain, showing always that he was worthy of a higher position than the one he occupied. His incredible activity, a coolness which neither circumstances nor positions of the utmost danger could ever vary ; a courage that could withstand every test, hastened the coming of the day when he was found to merit the confidence of shipowners. It was not long before ships were placed under his command.

Hardly had he completed two voyages before he showed himself a brave captain, a clever navigator and an intrepid soldier. He could foresee the changing of the winds, and found a way of arresting the ravages which they are wont to cause. He knew how to avoid danger and to vanquish the enemies he attacked. Frequent prizes and several single combats from which he always emerged victorious or with honour, made a kind of reputation for him among the traders.

When peace was concluded in 1748, Thurot devoted himself entirely to trade. As his prizes had brought him a considerable sum, he determined to employ his talents on his own account, fitted out a ship at his own expense, made voyages to different countries, but especially tried to become thoroughly acquainted with the harbours of Great Britain. A chart always in his hand, he examined the lie of the coast and the sandbanks, carefully studied the different places most suitable for landings, talked to captains and sailors, kept his eyes open and made notes that were one day to be useful to him.

His voyages produced a considerable reward, but no man is always fortunate, and more especially in business speculations is he exposed to the viccissitudes of fortune.

Thurot often carried contrabrand to England, and one day the English seized his ship and confiscated it on the pretext that he was carrying

Corsairs in the North Sea beating to windward. (Dutch engraving.)

prohibited goods. The loss of a lawsuit at London over this matter, made him swear implacable hatred against the English.

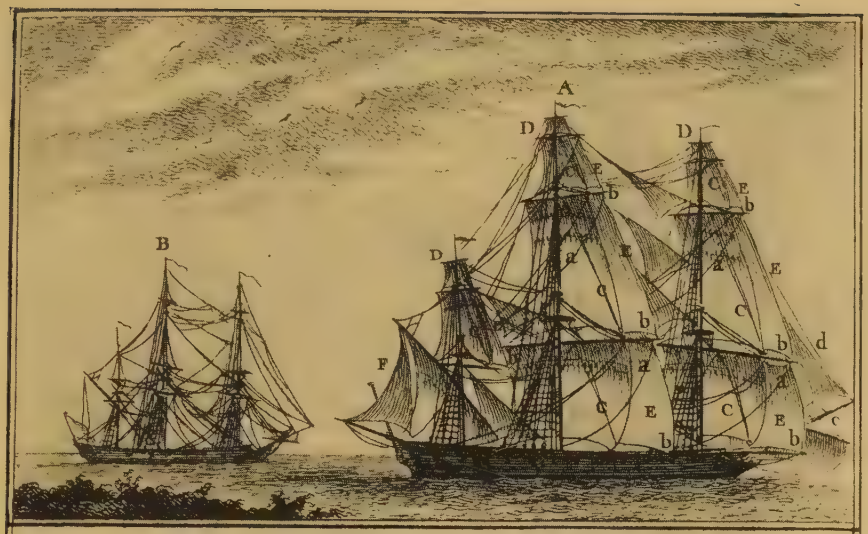
This passion, nourished within a proud heart, has more than once served the interests of the country ; who then can calculate its effect upon a man in whom courage was allied with genius and great talent? Thurot only longed for an opportunity to avenge himself, and this soon came with the declaration of war in 1755. His successes in the last campaign had brought him the confidence of the shipowners. Each seeking to get ahead of the other, they offered him the command of their privateers. Thurot justified the good opinion they had of his talents ; the vessel entrusted

to him became one of the most redoutable of the merchant marine. The sea, swarming with enemy ships, offered him frequent opportunities for a fight, a victory and a prize. He sank, drove aground, burned and captur-red a great many ships. So a single man avenged France. His exploits were vaunted at the Court ; the King wished to take Thurot into his service, and sent him a commission as an officer of the Royal Navy. Lofty spirits like that of Thurot are always sensible to honours and dignities, and the kindness of his sovereign excited his zeal. Not by flattery, by meanness, did he endeavour to establish himself in the King's favour ; he allowed his actions to speak for him. The Marshal de Belle-Isle, his zealous patron, encouraged a feeling that they should be rewarded, and secured for Thurot the command of the corvette *Friponne*. With this little ship he went cruising in the Channel and distinguished himself in several engagements, taking a number of valuable prizes.

The Marshal de Belle-Isle procures a command for Thurot in the Royal Navy.

Each day he acquired more experience and brought his talents to a greater perfection. His reputation grew and became established, Thurot was the talk of the court and the town. Thinking the moment favourable, he returned to Paris in the hope that he could secure the adoption of a design upon England which he had thought out. Full of confidence in his own strength, and relying upon the soundness of his plan, he thought that all that would be necessary would be for him to present himself and have it accepted. He was mistaken : the time had not yet come when a plain citizen could expect success by virtue only of his genius and his special talents. The day was still far removed when an individual distin-guished by his merits alone could succeed without intrigue, without cunning and by his own strength. Certainly Thurot could not have foreseen that moment, as languishing in enforced idleness at Paris, he lived there shamefully ignored and with none to help him. Soon he fell into such a penurious condition that he had not even the money to pay for the treatment of a scurvy that he had contracted by remaining too long at sea. But he suffered patiently ; courage and the hope of success sustained him in the face of the pressing cares of poverty. They would doubtless have quitted him at last had not one of his friends secured for him an acquaintance with a man who, naturally susceptible to all that is great and beautiful, was able to appreciate him and realise the

Thurot goes to Paris to put forward his plan for a naval raid upon the arsenal and harbour of Portsmouth.



FREGATE DE 40. CANONS

On a marqué à l'article précédent, le défaut des petits Bâtiments qui ont une batterie basse, c'est pourquoi, on represente la fregate de 40. canons A, *n'ayant qu'une Batterie, et des Gaillards. On construit d'autres Frezgattes entre celle cy et la Corvete* B, *leurs proportions sont marquées à la 22.e Planche.*

Les Fregates, et corvetes, sont les decouvertes des armées; elles se tiennent dans les Combats, a portée de secourir les Vaisseaux désemparés, et d'empecher autant qu'elles peuvent, les Brulots Ennemis d'en aprocher. Il y en a que l'on destine, pour repéter les signaux, et porter les ordres du général aux differents endroits de l'armée; on les employe dans d'autres occurrences, à convoyer des flottes marchandes, et aux Commissions où les grands Bâtiments ne sont point necessaires.

Suite de l'explication des Cargues, avec le nom des Voiles qu'on est dans l'usage d'ajouter aux precedentes, quand on veut aller tres vite.

C *Cargues points.*
D *les Peruches.*
* *Ces Voiles, se nomment aussi Etouines, et Coutelas; leurs drisses a passent a des bouts dehors, que l'on prolonge aux extremités des Vergues, les points* b, *repondent aux bouts dehors qui sont au dessous.*

E *les Bonnettes*
\+ *On met quelques fois au lieu de cette Bonnette, une Voile quarrée, qui tombe sur la poupe, ou l'arriere du Vaisseau, ce qui fait que les marins la nomme tapecul, sa Vergue est placée au pied du baton du Pavillon.*

F *Bonnette d'artimon*

On ajoute souvent une Voile au dessous de la civadiere, au point c, *que l'on nomme la contre civade, ou contre civadiere, on graye aussi un troisieme Foch, en dehors de celui* d, *dans les Vaisseaux qui ont le Beaupré fort long*

possibilities of his usefulness to France. This man, fired by Thurot's splendid projects, spoke of them enthusiastically to the Minister of the Navy, and succeeded without any difficulty in securing the Minister's favour on Thurot's behalf.

Thurot produced memoranda supported by perfectly worked-out plans. He completely established the strength and soundness of his projects ; he proved their usefulness to France. He did more : he took their execution upon himself. France was bound to secure immense advantages, and her risks as well as her expenditure, would not be considerable.

It is time to tear aside the veil which has hitherto enshrouded this terrible scheme ; it was nothing less than to reduce Portsmouth and its dockyards to ashes. This, in any other circumstances, and against any other people, would have been regarded as a violation of the laws established among civilized nations, but it was made lawful by the numerous infringements of those laws for which the English themselves were responsible, by the acts of violence, the countless injustices, and the barbarous excesses they had for long permitted themselves. According to the plan which Thurot had very carefully thought out, he was to slip into Portsmouth harbour by night, on board a barque stripped as flat as a raft, with no more than fifty men. In order to succeed, he would have to elude the most carefully kept watch, and dare the protective works of a harbour whose entrance bristled with cannon. He would have to expose himself to the most fearful danger, with no other aim than to render to his country a signal service. Thurot, with this motive ever underlying his activities, pressed the execution of this scheme with indefatigable ardour, but, unfortunately, the Minister had examined it in an office the clerks of which had sold themselves to the English.

The scheme fails, the secret not being kept.

The cabinet of Saint James, being informed of what was afoot, redoubled its vigilance, and took every precaution necessary to prevent the success of the plan. It failed. So, when trust is placed in men unworthy of it, the most brilliant and most useful operations go wrong.

The courtiers, jealous because a commoner had merit much greater than their own, did all they could to have Thurot set aside, but the Marshal de Belle-Isle, who had not only friendship for him but great confidence in his talents, recommended him so warmly that he was given

the command of a small flotilla composed of two frigates, the *Belle-Isle* and the *Chauvelin*, each carrying thirty guns, twelve pounders, and four hundred men, and two corvettes, one of which the *Bastien*, carried ten 4 pounders, and sixty men, and was rigged like an English coaster. The other, called the *Gros-Thomas*, had only six 3 pounders, and thirty men.

Thurot is given command of a flotilla composed of two frigates and two corvettes.

The object of this force was to harass English commerce ; to take, hold to ransom, or burn the enemy's ships ; to ravage the coast, and more especially, to capture a fleet richly laden with furs, which was coming from Archangel and was to put in at the Orkney Islands.

Thurot's cruise. July-November, 1757.

Thurot hurried to Saint-Malo to press forward the fitting out of his little fleet. He left the roads, on July 12th, 1757, at 5 o'clock in the morning and anchored on the Vieux-Banc. The *Bastien*, which had been all day on the look-out, came, at 8 o'clock in the evening to report that it had sighted two large English ships, one of which appeared to carry sixty-six guns, and the other, thirty.

Sailors and soldiers asked that they might engage the enemy, but a third vessel of seventy-four guns, which had joined the other two, damped their ardour and Thurot had the annoyance of seeing the *Bastien* captured under his eyes without being able to do anything to help her. The approach of these ships compelled him to withdraw to Cape Frehelle. He did not put out to sea again until the 24th, and, the evening of that day, he sighted the English coast. The next day, he saw a brigantine between Portland and Poole, which hoisted the Dutch flag in an attempt to escape him. Thurot was not deceived by this ruse and sent his longboat to board her. She was the *Rotterdam*, Captain Edward Barry, and was coming back from Saint Christopher, laden with sugar and coffee. The same day and in the same waters, he saw a ship keeping along the coast. Taking her at first for a merchant ship, he sent his scout after her, but she turned out to be an English frigate as well equipped as his own. While the *Belle-Isle* was in the offing, this ship, which had had time to take stock of her, and to make ready for a fight, drew near, and, judging by Thurot's equivocal answer that she was a French ship, fired off a broadside of artillery, musquetry and swivel-guns, before the *Belle-Isle* could fire a single gun in reply. The greatest confusion already reigned on board, and this was increa-

Brisk encounter with the frigate *Southampton*.

sed by an unexpected accident : it was seen that the tops were on fire, and that the fire must soon spread to the sails. In spite of this double danger, Thurot, calm and intrepid, gave his orders quickly and precisely. He seemed to become a dozen men and to be everywhere at once. The fire was soon put out. The sight of the killed, and especially the captain's voice, spurred the crew to action, and there was a desperate engagement between the two ships. The *Belle-Isle's* artillery greatly damaged the English frigate, which thereafter, could only use two guns. Thurot was about to board her,but the main topsail having fallen across the wheel of the *Belle-Isle* the Englishman took advantage of this opportunity and made off, with a following wind. Meanwhile, Thurot sighted the *Chauvelin,* and made signals to her. The *Chauvelin* gave keen chase to the enemy, and was on the point of coming up with her when the sieur de Chateaubrillant, who was in charge on the forecastle, saw that there was land just ahead, and warned the captain. Thurot then left the enemy to his own devices fearing lest they should both run ashore together. Then he rejoined the *Belle-Isle.*

The struggle lasted three hours : the bowsprit and the foremast were both pierced by a cannon ball that went through the ship from stem to stern and killed seven men. We learn from the gazettes of that period that the English ship was the *Southampton,* Captain Gilchrist ; she was carrying money to the workers in the Plymouth dockyards. She was so severely mauled in this affray that she was obliged to go into port to refit, and could not come out again for three months. The ship was deemed one of the smartest sailers in the English fleet. Thurot had reason to congratulate himself on the fact that he had not followed this ship further, for, if he had taken her, he would undoubtedly have fallen a victim to three large vessels which had learned of the engagement and, were bearing down upon him under full sail. At dawn indeed he did sight them and realising that they were coming for him, rigged out his oars, and got away. An hour after mid-day, the sea being very calm, the English ships sent nine boats, which came well within range of Captain Thurot's flotilla, and stayed three quarters of an hour watching him. He could have sunk them, but would not allow them to be fired upon. Throughout the day he manœuvred to keep the enemy at a distance,

Engagements and bad weather.

and as soon as it was night, profiting by the advantage which he had of being able to use oars, put himself completely out of harm's way. Next day, a little English corsair, with a ship from Ostend which she had captured, came up with the flotilla and passed between the two frigates. The *Chauvelin* fired a broadside, and this so terrified the corsair that

Heavy weather in the North Sea. (Dutch engraving.)

some time passed before he dared to touch a rope. Thurot took the Ostend vessel and would as easily have captured the corsair, but he feared lest he should be caught by the three large vessels which were still following him, and decided not to trouble about this prize. He went his way and came to anchor between Blonnées Head (1) and Calais, and there sent ashore some of his wounded, the prisoners, and the papers concerning his prizes. Then putting out again, he captured a packet which was carrying passengers between Dover and Ostend. He had taken possession of her and was intending to use her as an advice-ship but the sea became extremely rough,

(1) Probably Blanc Nez.

and this prize was compelled to put into France. The storm continued to get worse, and the fore mast and bowsprit, together with the main top mast, which had all been damaged during the last engagement, could not withstand the violence of the hurricane and were broken. The ship would have foundered, had it not been for the haste with which the shrouds were cut.

In this frightful disaster, says the writer of the historical diary of Captain Thurot's campaign upon the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, in 1757 and 1758 (1) *we owed our safety to M. Thurot. Ready for all eventualities, and keeping an eye upon everything, he himself used the hatchet when it was necessary. The calmness with which he regarded the cruel ravages of the storm, so restored calm among the sailors, that in a short time we were ready to hold out against the violence of those waves whose plaything we had been.*

The wind abated, and the *Chauvelin,* which had rejoined the *Belle-Isle,* had her in tow, when Thurot sighted three English frigates, the chief of which approached the *Chauvelin,* and fired a broadside, within musket range. The sieur Duhoux-Desages, who was in command of the *Chauvelin,* made a stern board so as to allow the *Belle-Isle* to get ready to defend herself, and replied in so vigorous a manner that the enemy frigate was obliged to return to the two others which fired only from a distance. Then all three returned to the attack ; the *Chauvelin* held her own against them bravely and obliged them to leave go. This battle redounds greatly to the honour of M. Desages, who by effective manoeuvring and sustained courage, succeeded in safeguarding the *Belle-Isle,* and putting to flight the enemy who had regarded that ship as a prey.

The courage of Thurot's officers, especially Captain Desages and Captain de la Tour Audaye.

Thurot, far removed from the mean jealousy and unfairness which usually characterize leaders, who wish to keep all the glory of their expeditions to themselves, rendered justice to the bravery and skill of M. Desages, to whom he avowed, with a loyalty and frankness truly worthy of praise, that he had been of no assistance.

In this affair, which lasted three hours and a half, the *Chauvelin* lost two men killed and twelve wounded. Amongst them was M. de la Tour Audaye, a young captain of Saint Malo, who, at the beginning of the war, with a corsair mounting ten guns, had made himself feared by the English. He was to have commanded the frigate *La Marquise,* which had been

(1) The Marquis de Bragelonc.

left at Saint-Malo because she was not quite ready for sea. It was only from excess of zeal, and for the public advantage that he sailed in the *Chauvelin*. Thurot, who did not wish to run the risk of a new attack in the crippled condition he was in, sent a hawser from the *Belle Isle* on board the *Chauvelin*, which towed him to the roads at Flushing in Zeeland. In spite of all his speed in refitting, he was not able to sail before the 18th of September. When he had just passed the Flushing towers, he sighted a brigantine, and gave chase under full sail, but too much concerned with the pursuit of this little ship, he failed to see that his own flotilla was itself being chased by three ships of the line and two frigates. A shot fired by the *Gros-Thomas* which had not been able to keep up, to show that she was hauling down her flag, showed him the danger he was in. Thurot, seeing that the ships of the line were more than three leagues from the frigates, attacked the frigates with great vigour, and caused them tremendous losses with his artillery and musket fire. The fight had lasted for more than an hour and a half, and the slackening of their fire seemed to indicate they they would, very shortly, have to admit their defeat, when he perceived that one of the line-of-battle ships had got the wind, and was close upon him.

Thurot felt that this was not a fair fight, and like the clever sailor he was, immediately broke away and sailed off, having given a last salute to the enemy of a broadside from his guns and muskets. The *Chauvelin*, which was more to windward, went back to Flushing and anchored : the *Belle-Isle* was following closely, when an accident almost destroyed her. Her fore top-sail yard broke at the middle, and the time that was spent in repairing it allowed the ships of the line to come up to half gun shot. Their upper and lower batteries thundered upon her, the masts were broken, the rigging torn to shreds. Thurot, who preserved the utmost coolness throughout the greatest dangers, proved that courage aided by genius can arrest the gravest misfortunes. In less than three minutes, in spite of the enemy's fire, the main yard which had been shot down was lashed to the stump of the main mast ; the mizzen-yard was made to serve as a bowsprit, and several sails set. The wind freshened suddenly and filled the sails, and Thurot seized that opportunity of escaping. A boat which the *Chauvelin* sent out succeeded in towing

The *Belle-Isle* dismasted.

him into the roads, where he was surprised to find the *Gros-Thomas*. The frigates had not had time to board her, and she had profited by the confusion of the battle to escape.

The *Belle-Isle* was surveyed, and sixty-five 36 and 24 shot were found, three of which, at the water line, had made bad leaks. In spite of this disaster, Thurot lost only five men. The following day, he anchored off Flushing, and got out the *Belle-Isle* 's masts. While she was being repaired, the *Chauvelin* twice went out to sea, with the *Gros-Thomas,* which acted as an advice-boat, but the second time she returned alone and her captain told Thurot that he had seen his corvette captured before his eyes without being able to do anything to help her, and that he had been very fortunate to escape himself from two frigates of forty guns which had pursued him. The work completed, Thurot went out with the *Chauvelin,* but though he scoured the sea for seven days, he came upon nothing more than a small brigantine, which had left Edinburgh in ballast the evening before. This he captured, but as he was afraid of discovering his identity he had resolved not to put any of his prizes to ransom. This one offered him a hundred guineas, but he refused it, and burned the ship after taking her crew on board his own.

The second cruise : Thurot finds the weather too bad, and decides to make for Scotland.

From information which Thurot had extracted from the captain of this brigantine, he decided to go in search of a fleet of fifty-four sail, which was being convoyed by two ships, one of fifty, the other of thirty guns. This fleet was to leave the Edinburgh river the same day or the day after the capture of the brigantine. It was a splendid opportunity for an engagement, though as we have said before, he had another object. He made up his mind the more readily as this enterprise was much more certain than the other, yet, on M. Desages's advice, he abandoned it.

On the 4th of October, he sighted Flamborough Head. Until then, he had kept out at sea all the time, so that he might the better conceal his presence, but the wind grew stronger and, fearing to be driven beyond the Orkneys, he thought fit to take refuge in the bay of Moray Firth. He passed close rond the headland of Buchan Ness, and ran in, under English colours, to within half a league of the land, but he could find no other anchorage than the roads of Findhorn (a little Scottish town). On the 5th of October he cast anchor there, so as to be within reach of the place where

he hoped to make his capture the following day. The wind, which had somewhat abated, now got up again, and about ten o'clock at night, reached such a pitch of violence that both the *Chauvelin's* cables parted. The ship began to drift : Thurot soon lost her from sight, and owing to a succession of misfortunes, never saw her again during the rest of the campaign. The next day he did everything in his power to recover the *Chauvelin,* but the tempest continuing and a thick fog made him

Right, a Surgeon's uniform. Middle, an inspector of barracks. Left, a medical inspector. (Reign of Louis XVI.)

give up all hope of doing so. This was the more annoying, because it was hard to find an officer who would so well support him, or show so much zeal, skill and courage, as M. Desages.

The *Belle-Isle* suffered considerably, and despite the precaution that had been taken of furling the fore sail and lying to, a sudden gust broke the bowsprit above the gammoning and it carried the other masts away with it. The ship, with neither masts nor sails, lay in the trough

of the sea, so that, at every moment, it was feared that she would sink. A danger still more terrible followed, more alarming because of the time it left for reflection, while certain destruction seemed inevitable. Night having fallen without it having been possible to set a scrap of sail, the vessel was eight leagues distant from the southern point of the Shetland islands ; the course she was making, at the mercy of the waves, was bound towards midnight to throw her on the coast of the island, where she would inevitably be smashed to pieces without the hope of saving a single man. The night was terribly dark ; the breakers were the only way by which they might know if they were near to land. They would have been the signal of death.

So, by this misfortune become the plaything of the waves, the crew could only trust in Providence, but Thurot, bold and fearless in the storm as he was brave in the face of death, soon pulled them out of this lethargic state. Calm in his actions, and giving his orders firmly, he was obeyed with confidence. In a moment the wreck of the *Belle-Isle's* mast was cut away ; she had standing only her three lower masts, each of which had lost 15 feet at its head. Then he had a block lashed to the mizzen-mast, and so set a staysail which kept the ship's head to the sea. Happily, day broke without any further accident, sea and wind became calmer, and the crew having somewhat recovered from their alarm, one of the spare top-sails was made to serve as a fore sail, and the main top-gallant sail to serve as a main sail, and so they went on.

In this situation Thurot called his officers together for a consultation with regard to the course to be taken to extricate them from so awkward a position. Opinions were divided until Thurot had shown that they were not in a state to remain at sea long enough to reach any neutral land.

Gentlemen, he said to the crew, *when we embarked, it was our intention to seek out the enemies of our country, and to enrich ourselves upon their spoil. The risks which we have already run, from which we have all happily escaped, since we left Saint Malo, seem to show that a pleasant future is in store for us. Perhaps fortune will smile upon us, but she will do so, only if our courage wins her over to our side, The pitiable state wherein we now are, will not permit us to go and seek assistance from our friends; they are too far away. We must find in Scotland what fate refuses us elsewhere. We are now but four leagues from the Shetland Islands, let*

us go there under the Dutch flag, and make our enemies themselves provide for our safety.

All applauded this suggestion, and willingly committed themselves to the well recognised prudence of the one who had suggested it. All day they made for shore, and after braving a thousand dangers, the ship was thrown by the currents between the rocks which border the coasts of the Shetlands.

Thurot, having hoisted the Dutch flag and fired cannon to show he needed assistance, pilots came out and brought the ship into the bay of Connestienne (1), where the crew were supplied with victuals and all the things they most needed.

From Scotland Thurot takes his frigate the *Belle-Isle* to Bergen.

Although his ship was in a bad state, Thurot had not yet given up his original plan, but, having learned that the fleet he was waiting for had passed twenty days previously without stopping at the Orkneys, he left the Shetland Islands after about four or five days and laid his course to Bergen.

Capture of a frigate.

On the 19th of October, a frigate of twenty-six guns, flying the flag of Saint George, sailed athwart the *Belle-Isle* at half gun shot. As Thurot had hoisted the English flag, the frigate's crew manned the shrouds and greeted him with repeated hurrahs. But suddenly, down came the English flag; the white flag rose in its place, and a whole broadside of great guns and small arms laid low sixty men and three of the principal officers. The rest, in most frightful disorder, ran to take refuge in the hold. Surprised by so sudden an attack, they had hardly strength enough to fire a few volleys in reply, and lowered the flag which they had just so proudly flown.

Although this was a royal frigate which should have been treated with consideration, and Thurot had given the strictest orders to respect the belongings of the crew, it was impossible to hold the sailors in check, and everything was pillaged.

Thurot's stay at Bergen.

After bringing his prisoners on board the *Belle-Isle,* Thurot continued his voyage to Bergen, where he arrived on October 30th, after having had to sail with the wind against him much of the time. It was only with considerable difficulty that he succeeded in securing what he needed

(1) Very probably Cunnister.

at this port. Having neither papers, nor credit, nor order from the Minister, he asked the French Consul to advance him the most essential expenses until such time as he received a reply to a letter which he had written to M. Ogié, the ambassador of France at the Court of Denmark. Meanwhile, they worked at the refitting of the *Belle-Isle,* though they were short of the most necessary materials, especially blocks and masts. In the harbour of Bergen there was laid up a French ship, which had come from America. She belonged to French owners and was consigned to a merchant of Bergen. Thurot offered to buy her, but as the captain consistently refused to sell her, Thurot seized her by force of arms, and took everything he needed out of her. In any other circumstances, this act of violence would doubtless have been very blameworthy, and the commandant of the town showed some disposition to interfere but Thurot, who had been inspired only by zeal for his country's interests, was able to show how this measure was necessary for the success of his expedition, so that he withdrew his opposition, and the matter was amicably settled.

He seizes a French ship and turns her into a corsair.

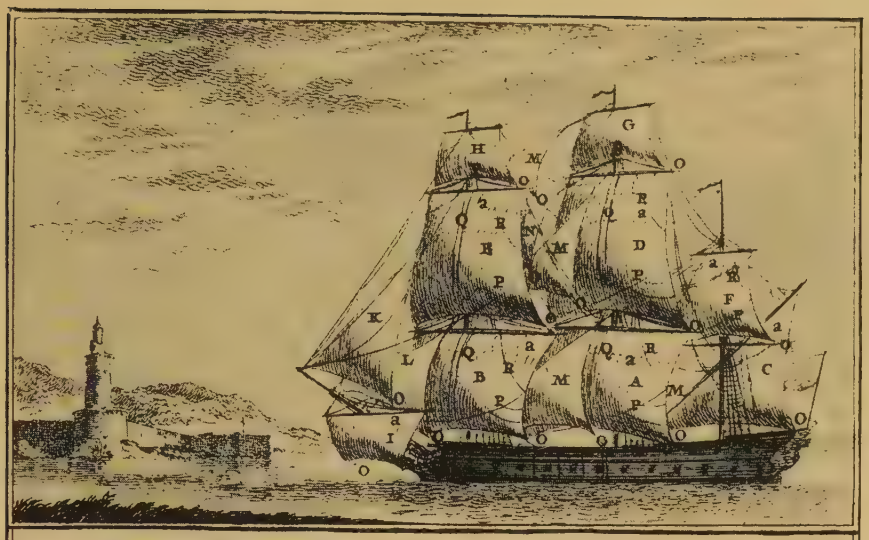
The crew of the *Belle-Isle,* discouraged by all the misfortunes which had happened to their ship, had made up their minds to desert, and it took all Thurot's prudence and firmness to dissuade them. Employing in turn prayers, threats and punishments, he succeeded in keeping nearly all his men.

Some days before his departure, he received a reply from the ambassador who, knowing his zeal for the interests and glory of the French nation, had secured for him, both in the form of money and otherwise, more help than he had dared to expect.

The work of repair finished, Thurot sailed from Bergen roads on the 25th of December. Fortune, which destined him to become a hero, made him experience every kind of danger so that it might accustom him to brave all. It determined that his talents should be made perfect in the school of adversity.

Thurot's third cruise. December, 1757.

He had hardly left Bergen, when a new storm assailed the ship; a fearful gust of wind sprung the main mast, which was a made mast, half way up: this accident brought down the mizzen top-sail. Thurot decided to cut away the main-top mast so as to save the lower mast, but hardly had two men begun to do this work, than masts and all fell into the sea, with the two men, who were fortunately saved. But the crew



NAVIRE DE 50. CANONS.

Ces Bâtiments sont les plus petits qui se battent en corps d'armée; Ceux qui ne portent que des Canons de 12, et de 8, servent plus souvent a escorter des flotes marchandes, et a des commissions particulieres, qu'a occuper dans une armée la place d'un Vaisseau de ligne (f).

On construit d'autres Bâtiments, depuis 50. jusqu'a 30 canons qui suivant leur grandeur, ont leur Batterie basse complete, ou simplement percée, pour ne porter que quelques canons. Leur construction tient du Vaisseau de ligne, mais elle est en général plus propre au commerce, qu'a la guerre, a cause du defaut, qu'ont presque touts ces Bâtiments, d'avoir la Batterie noyée. (e)

Noms des Voiles, et des Manœuvres qui les regardent.

A. *la grande Voile*		
B. *la Misaine*		
C. *l'artimon*		
D. *le grand Hunier*		
E. *le petit Hunier*		
F. *le Perroquet de Fougue*		
G. *le grand Perroquet*	*	
H. *le petit Perroquet*	**	
I. *la Civadiere*		
K. *le grand Foch*		
L. *le petit Foch*		
M. *Voiles d'Etaie*		
N. *Fausse Voile d'Etai*	***	
O. *Ecouttes*	**	
P. *Boulines*	***	
Q. *Carsues Foudes*		
R. *Carsues Boulines*		

* *Les petites cordes a, qui pendent au haut des principales Voiles, se nomment garcettes de ris: Elles servent a lier la Voile a la Vergue, quand la force du vent, oblige d'en diminuer la surface, c'est ce qu'on appelle prendre des ris.*

** *Les Ecoutes, servent a retenir les points des Voiles, sur larriere du Vaisseau. On attache, ou pour parler en matin, on frappe aux mêmes points d'autres manœuvres, pour tirer, ou haler les voiles sur lavant cette manœuvre, se nomme couet, Ecouet, ou amure; les Voiles superieures, n'en ont point d'amure d'artimon, se nomme cui-sse, elle est frappée au bout inferieur de la Vergue.*

*** *Les Boulines servent a tirer les voiles sur l'avant du Vaisseau quand le vent vient de coté*

** *Les carsues, servent a rapprocher les bords de la voile contre la Vergue, quand on veut la plover, ou la serrer. Il y a d'autres carsues sur le revers de la Voile qui sont representées dans la planche suivante*

were used to having their ship dismasted, and so paid less attention to this last accident, though it put the ship in a very dangerous position. Waves of a prodigious height broke against her, and, every moment, threatened to engulf her.

So rough was the sea that for three days it was impossible to set a single sail. On the fourth day, it seemed to be calmer, and advantage was taken of this to set up a fore top-mast, and so the ship remained until January 4th, 1758. Then a new gust of wind destroyed this their only hope of getting to land, and there was reason to fear that the *Belle-Isle,* at the mercy of the waves, and drifting always northward, would break up on the ice from which she was not far distant. To escape this misfortune, Thurot made a fore mast out of the main yard, and, despite the terrible rolling of the ship which made this a very dangerous operation, was lucky enough to get it in position.

However, wind and current still drove the ship northwards, and, on the 15th of January, she was already near Iceland, between 64 and 65 degrees of latitude north. Never perhaps, had any ship sailed before in these latitudes, where at that time of the year there were but four hours of daylight. If the same weather had continued, there would have been no other alternative than to make for Russia, at the risk of being completely without provisions, and of perishing in the ice. The crew, which had then but 12 ounces of bread each day, was about to be reduced to 6, when, the sea having become somewhat calmer and the winds less contrary, Thurot, beat to windward and so, on the 17th, came in sight of Norway, in about 62 and a half degrees ; then, resolved not to lose the land from sight, he spent four days in bringing the ship off Bergen.

Bad weather compels him to put into Gothenberg until May, 1758.

Some of the officers expressed a desire to enter through the passage north of this town, but Thurot, who had learned that several among them plotted to abandon him, and knowing by experience how difficult it was to procure victuals and masts in that town, refused to agree to this plan which might have meant the failure of the whole expedition. In spite of the murmurs of the crew and the danger of ice, he took the wise part and decided to make all haste to Gothenberg, a town in Sweden, where he could find all the assistance he desired. He followed the Norwegian coast, however, so that, in case of necessity he might always have a port

to leeward, and not be compelled to perish of hunger. On the 22nd, the wind having become more favourable, he doubled Cape Erneus (1), a Norwegian headland which, with Jutland, forms the entrance to the Baltic Sea. After experiencing some storms which obliged him to put into the bay of Streinfiord, near Mandal, in Norway, Thurot anchored at the entrance to the Gothenberg river, on the 1st of February.

He made signals, lighted fires, and fired cannon : nobody appeared. The fear of being caught in the ice compelled him, without a pilot, to brave the shallows of a channel unknown to him, and it was not without great danger that he finally reached the harbour. Five days before, several ships had perished amid the ice which surrounded the entrance to the roads.

The *Belle-Isle* remained at Gothenberg until the 11th of May. The interval was spent in completely refitting her, and laying in stores of provisions.

We are at last drawing near the time when Thurot's little fleet was to become useful to France on account of the many prizes it took from the English. Hitherto he had known nothing but an uninterrupted succession of misfortunes and set-backs. Now he was to meet with more success. He sailed from Gothenberg on the 11th of May, and on the 17th, was within sight of Newcastle in England. His first prize was the *William and Charles,* sailing from Newcastle to Arundel (2), and in the five following days, he captured the *Saint-Martha,* the *Prudent Mary,* the *Friendship of Sunderland,* and the *Russia,* all laden with coal.

The fourth cruise. Thurot scours the English coasts.

On May 26th, eight leagues from Edinburgh, he sighted four ships, and, thinking them to be merchant vessels, crowded sail and gave chase. The two last, which were royal frigates (the *Dolphin* and the *Solebay*), tacked and bore down upon him at such a speed that, even had he wished, he could not have avoided an engagement. In an instant, he found himself between two fires at no more than a pistol shot from each. The commanders, thinking they had to do with some ordinary man, summoned him to haul down his flag. It did not take them long to discover their mistake. Thurot inspired those on board his ship with his own courage and hatred for the English, and prepared to sell the victory dearly.

The *Belle-Isle's* engagement with the British frigates *Solebay* and *Dolphin.*

(1) Possibly the Naze.
(2) This may be Arendal.

The firing of guns and muskets on both sides made the first shock terrible and devastating. Thurot, himself both working and fighting the ship, was like a lion whom danger renders only more furious. His soldiers, encouraged by the intrepidity of their chief, fought with unparalleled keenness. On both sides there were prodigies of valour : Captain Craig, who commanded the *Solebay* received a very dangerous wound in the throat ; the Captain of the *Dolphin* (M. Macleod) was killed. Finally, after seven hours most desperate and stubborn fighting, a lucky shot set fire to the powder of the larboard frigate and delivered Thurot from one of her enemies. The other ship, totally disabled, and having lost many of her men, preferred to sail away rather than run the risk of a defeat which, now that she had lost her comrade, seemed more than likely.

This is what the author of the historical journal of Dunkirk says with regard to this engagement which he himself witnessed.

The vigour wherewith we were assailed, would have alarmed any others, less inured to warfare than we were. Some trembled for a moment, but M. Thurot's boldness reassured them. As he never ceased to encourage us, and as we beheld at every moment the results of his foresight and exactitude, each of us believed we saw him risking his own life to save that of the least among the sailors, and so our fear was only for him.

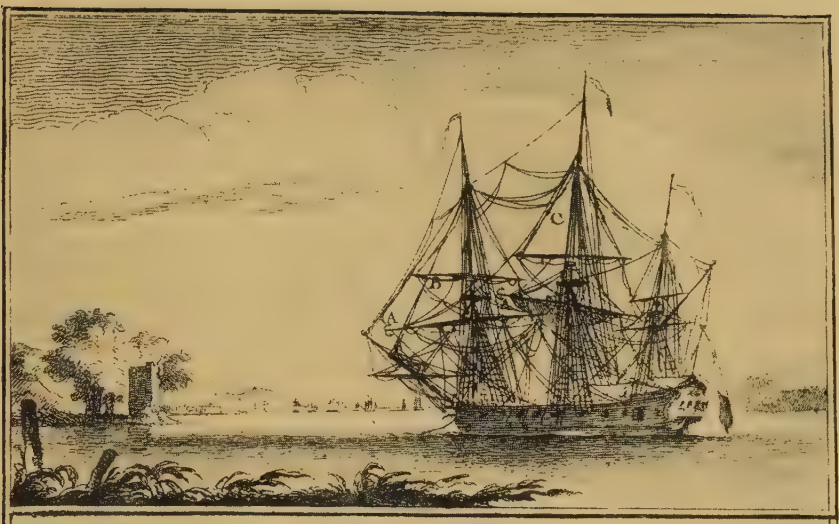
Whatever cause for satisfaction Thurot had in the defeat of two such redoubtable enemies, he could not prevent himself from shedding tears for nineteen of his brave companions who had perished in the action. Thirty-four had been wounded.

On the subject of this same engagement, Thurot's apologist makes the following remarks :

The anonymous author (1) *should blush for that false insinuation with regard to the brave Thurot which he puts forward in these words : « if he cared not whether he perished, neither would he have cared if all the universe perished with him. » His conduct shows the very contrary, since he often risked his own life for that of the meanest of his sailors.*

After this battle, wherein Thurot covered himself with glory, he shifted his sails, for they were riddled with holes, and repaired his

(1) *Journal historique des campagnes du capitaine Thurot sur les côtes d'Ecosse et d'Irlande*, published anonymously at Dunkirk in 1760.



BRULOT.

Les Brulots, sont des Bâtiments remplis d'artifices, destinés a mettre le feu aux vaisseaux ennemis; ils ont vers l'ariere, une porte de chaque coté, par une des quelles, l'equipage se sauve dans une chaloupe, quand on est en etat de mettre le feu aux artifices, qui doivent l'embraser avec le Vaisseau qu'il a accroché. Les Brulots, abordent l'ennemi au vent, afin que leurs flammes, soüent plus vivement poussées dans ses agrés: les grappins debouts de vergues A, servent a les accrocher aux manœuvres de l'ennemi; on en jette aussi a la main, pour ne point manquer l'abordage: ce sont ordinairement des vieux Batiments que l'on arme en brulots; on y monte des canons, pour les signaux qu'ils peuvent avoir occasion de faire, ainsi que pour eloigner les petits Bâtiments, qui s'opposeroient a leurs desseins. Lorsque les brulots ont ordre d'agir, selon l'occasion on détache des Vaux pour les proteger et recueillir leur monde.

Les Brulots, décident souvent la Victoire, par le desordre, et l'effroi qu'il peuvent occasionner à l'ennemi. Le sujet de la 23e. planche, represente l'effet de ces embrasements.

des Palanquins de Ris

Ces manœuvres, servent a aprocher la Voile de sa vergue, quand on Veut prendre des ris

Il y a des Vaux, dans les quels ces Palanquins B, courrent sur le revers de la Vergue, d'autres, ou ils repondent a la tete des mats d'hunes C, ces derniers, doublent les Balancines, et en tiennent lieu quand elles se rompent, ou qu'elles sont coupées, dans le combat. Les palanquins de ris des basses Voiles, courent toujours sur le revers de la Vergue

rigging. Hardly had he finished fishing his mizzen mast, when he espied a ship which, thinking herself about to be attacked, hoisted the Danish flag and declared herself neutral.

He went on board, and finding that it was indeed so, placed on board her six prisoners who had been ill for a long time, and two women who had been the cause of jealousies among the officers that might have had unfortunate results. Thurot then resumed his cruise, and each day was marked by new successes. On the 30th of May, he captured an English boat with which he entered Mendale in Norway. The *Emerillon,* a small ketch, with ten guns and forty men, anchored near him. While Thurot was at work setting his main and fore masts two feet further forward, he heard that some merchant ships were about to sail from a neighbouring anchorage. Immediately, he armed the English boat with four swivel guns and twenty men, and sent it with the *Emerillon* after them. To his great astonishment they returned a few hours later, each with a prize, the *Christian,* laden with coal, and the *Bougan,* whose cargo consisted of hemp, iron and flax. Thurot put his wounded on board the *Emerillon,* and dispatched that ship to Christiansand, where they were to be landed, and an arrangement made for the sale of the two prizes.

In June, 1758, Thurot cruises in the Cattegat.

On the 4th of June, being again ready to take the sea, he weighed anchor and set out to cruise in the Cattegat. All the day he chased one ship after another, but had the misfortune to find them neutrals. The English brigantine, *Friendship,* which he captured off the Skagen light house, was some compensation. The next day, the sieur Payen boarded the *Catherine.* This capture was followed by that of the *Lothian,* a snow. Thurot would have liked to go to Christiansand, to pick up the crews of the two prizes which the *Emerillon* had escorted to that place, but, having sighted land at Maelstrand, he thought it wiser to make for Wingd, near Gothenberg, rather than run the risk of losing his prizes. He anchored at the mouth of the river where, to his great contentment, he found the *Emerillon,* which the wind had compelled to put in there.

On the 12th of June, he was rejoined by his schooner, the *Coureur,* which had returned from Gothenberg, and dispatched the *Houmar* to Elsinore and Copenhagen. The next day but one, the *Coureur* took three prizes which Thurot sent to Christiansand under the schooner's escort.

On the 14th, as he was ready to sail, he sighted a merchant fleet escorted by two men of war which fired three times three shots. He judged that this was a signal to call out the English ships that were in the roads. He was not wrong : about eleven o'clock at night, eight or nine ships of different sizes came out to join their escort and sailed in company.

As Thurot still had his Danish flag, so that his enemies could not suspect him of being French, he immediately set sail himself and followed the fleet with the intention of pouncing upon the first vessel which should become separated from the rest. Soon he came upon one, summoned her to surrender, manned her, and sent her off to Gothenberg. This prize was laden with hempen cloth, and carried sixteen guns. He continued at sea until the 19th, without meeting anything more than three brigantines (the *Marguerite,* the *Elisabeth* and the *Sully*), which he captured, and on the 22nd being chased by two frigates which he could see to be of fifty-four and thirty-six guns, he was compelled to take refuge with his prizes in the bay of Arnesound. He soon put to sea again, and off the Norwegian coast, captured two vessels, the *Jenny* and the *Success,* which hauled down their flags the moment they were summoned. He put two prize captains on board them and sent them to Christiansand. Hardly had he finished doing so than he sighted two small ships which were making off under full sail. He could not catch up with them until the next day. The first yielded without resistance, the second only when she had been fired upon a few times,and after Thurot had recognised the French flag.

Annoyed at having had so much trouble for nothing, Thurot somewhat bitterly reproached the captain for not having yielded sooner. *Without your colours,* said the captain, *you would not have us in your power now; I would rather set fire to my ship than yield her to any Englishman...* Thurot, delighted with this determined answer, gave him back his prize, and went his way. On the 17th, he gave chase to a large snow, flying the Swedish flag, which endeavoured to avoid him. When he had come up with her he sent some men and a lieutenant to examine her. The captain had succeeded in persuading the officer that he was a neutral, and they were about to get back into their boat, when a sailor who had gone down into the hold, no doubt in the hope of finding something to drink, discovered a portfolio which contained evidence enough to secure the ship's being made a prize.

This ship, the *Jenny and Elisabeth*, was immediately seized. She was laden with herrings, and carried eight guns.

He meets and breaks up an English fleet. July, 1758.

Then Thurot went to anchor in the bay of Christiansand, below the castle of Fleckeren which he saluted with eleven guns, his salute being returned in the same manner. Going to sea again immediately, on the 12th of July, he sighted the fires of the Skagen tower, and some time later, a fleet which, in the daylight, he saw to be English. It consisted of pinks fitted out for war to the number of seventeen, two of which wore pennants. Eleven of them were three-masted, the least of which was of three hundred tons ; several had as many as eighteen or twenty guns. In all a hundred and thirty. As soon as they saw that they were being chased, they came together. Thurot, always a prudent man, called his council together : it was suggested that an attack should be made upon the centre, and this opinion carried the day. Thurot was far from opposing this plan ; his passion for glory made him welcome any new opportunity for displaying his bravery. He felt too, that more esteem is to be acquired by taking good advice which is approved by many than to persist in an opinion which, though perhaps sounder in itself, has no other support than that of authority. Thurot could not hide from himself the dangers of this enterprise, but he hoped that his own courage and that of his men would take the place of numbers. So he gave the word for action, struck at the midst of the fleet, and opened a terrible fire from both sides. The pinks opposed a stubborn resistance, formed a ring around the *Belle-Isle,* poured upon her a hail of shot, and each came on in succession to overwhelm Thurot's ship with repeated volleys. It seemed that victory was about to crown their efforts : Thurot was more than two hours without being able to get free and there was even a moment when the crew was given to despair, deeming their salvation impossible. But nothing can subdue soldiers led by an intrepid chief : danger ceases to affect them. Thurot himself pointed out where they must strike, and directed his attacks so well that in the end, the enemy fleet was completely routed. He followed in pursuit, and captured the *George and Joseph.* Heavy rain, and the darkness of night forbade him to follow up the other vessels, but he would have taken them had not circumstances favoured their escape. In this affair, he had four men killed, and the same number of

wounded. So much success alarmed the English merchant service ; its vessels no longer dared to show themselves in the North Sea. The British Ministry, wearied of the continual outcries that were made, and humiliated to discover that a single frigate could lay waste the coasts of England and Scotland, sent several menofwar after Thurot, but all their endeavours to capture him only served to show his cleverness the more clearly. Even while they were on the watch for him, he captured another English snow (the *Blakeney*), and a brigantine, with which he anchored at Christiansand, after escaping from two English ships, one of which was the *Chatham*.

The British Admiralty sends warships in search of Thurot.

On leaving this harbour, he was pursued by two other enemy ships, the *Deptford* and the *Aquilon,* one of sixty-four guns and the other of forty, which were lying in wait for him off the coast of Norway, but they did not succeed in coming up with him.

On the 15th of August, in a thick fog, he noticed a frigate making towards him. Thurot was already clearing for action, when the English frigate was joined by two others, and soon after, by a fourth which bore straight down upon him before the wind under full sail. He then decided that it was better to depart, and profiting by the fog, made for the Shetland Islands, where he learned that all the English ships which he had met had long been searching for him. Thereupon he left those latitudes, and to confound the enemy, went up towards the North, as far as the Faroe Islands, and there anchored to lay in stores, and went again to sea.

He had been cruising for several days when he found a considerable leak in his ship ; the powder magazine and the bread room were on the point of collapse.

In this dangerous condition, he sighted Cape Telling (1) (in Ireland). Having determined to go up the first creek that was deep enough to take him, he sent his ship's boat to find more accurately the lie of the coast.

The corsair reachs Ireland

Upon the report that was brought back, that it was impossible to reach the shore, he went out to sea again, and chase two brigantines, the *John* and the *True Love,* which he took near Tory Island.

Finally, having followed the coast of Ireland all day, he entered Lough Swilly. During the 31st he succeeded in stopping up the leak which was near the keel. He had sent his small cutter ashore to secure vic-

(1) Probably Tellin Head.

tuals, and four men brought sheep, but instead of the ten needed, the men wished to force them to buy a flock of a hundred and fifty. The officer in charge of the boat refused to take them, saying that the matter did not depend upon himself, and invited them to go on board and receive payment for the lot. The good folk embarked in all confidence, taking eight sheep with them.

When they were on board the *Belle-Isle,* Thurot, reflecting upon the danger he would be in if he were known to be a Frenchman, and fearing lest the islanders should betray him, kept them on board, and immediately set sail, for fear any enemy ships should come up with him. The men were inconsolable at being taken taken thus far from their homes, but Thurot treated them with so much kindness and humanity that their annoyance was soon dispelled.

On the 1st of September, he captured, near the island of Isla, the *Henry,* which carried eighteen guns, and offered some resistance. He had just finished giving his instructions to a prize captain, when there appeared two other large ships, coming from Saint George's Channel. These he chased and, after the exchange of a few shots, captured. One, the *Carlstow,* a ship carrying twelve guns, laden with cloth and thread, came from Liverpool and was going to Carolina ; the other, the *Britannia,* with fourteen guns, was going to New York, with a full cargo of porcelain, cloth and salt.

On the 3rd of September, off Cape Cantire (in Scotland) he took another ship. This was the *Admiral Ruyter,* an eighteen gun vessel, laden with sugar, coffee and indigo, coming from Port-au-Prince. The English frigate *Borne* had captured it from the Dutch. All these ships were noteworthy both for their size and the riches they carried.

To give the slip to the enemy ships which the noise of his exploits had brought out of the Scottish ports, Thurot again went up to the Faroe Islands, and thence went to Bergen and anchored in the roads there with two of his prizes, the others having become separated from him.

Covered with glory, Thurot returns to Dunkirk in December. 1759.

On the 25th of November, again in a fit state to go to sea, he sailed. On the 30th, he sighted two ships. The first was the *Dantzig;* the second, the *Buxom.* Deceived by the English flag which Thurot was flying, the *Buxom* came right up under his bowsprit, to announce that she was laden with flax and iron which she had taken on board at Petersburg and was

carrying to London. Thurot, taking advantage of this piece of information, boarded the *Buxom,* and sent her to the nearest port which was Flushing in Zeeland. This capture was followed by that of the *Dublin,* a brigantine. After cruising about for some time, he anchored on December 5th at Ostend, and there remained a month, selling his prizes, and then went to Dunkirk to pay off his crew. He had covered himself with glory, but was worn out.

Thurot at Versailles.

Thurot went to Versailles. His fame had gone before him and he was very well received, but his anxiety to become more and more worthy of the royal kindness, soon caused him to leave the Court and set out again to engage the King's enemies. He suggested to the government a plan to make a raid on England. This was admirably conceived, showed all the steps that must be taken to make sure of success, and demonstrated, we will not say the possibility, but the certainty, of victory. Thurot undertook the whole management of the expedition, and promised that the government should be amply repaid by its results.

He proposes a raid upon England. Louis XV gives Thurot the command of a squadron of five frigates.

At all times there have been at the Court useless creatures who, proud of bearing a name which is, in fact, their reproach, hate to see a man of humble birth secure their sovereign's attention. They represented Thurot's plan as a chimera which would be impossible of realisation, and which would entail useless expenditure upon the government. A man of less recognised merit would have been overwhelmed by the blows which envy rained upon him, but the Minister considered Thurot's plan so well conceived that he spoke of it favourably to the King.

We were still at war with England, and every day that power was taking prizes from us, so that our trade suffered considerably. There was need of a man, prudent, clever and intrepid, who could get the better of such an enemy, and all France pointed to the invincible captain of the *Belle-Isle.* The Marshal, his zealous patron, who knew that no one was more fitted than Thurot to undertake an expedition which called for both bravery and enthusiasm, asked for and obtained for him the command of a squadron which was then being fitted out at Dunkirk, whose operations should assist the design of a raid upon England. The King could think of no more suitable way of rewarding this brave sailor than by providing him with new opportunities for acquiring glory. Those who

The preparation for a landing, and alarm in England.

were jealous of him again raised objections, but none was rash enough to become his rival.

We cannot refrain from quoting the honourable and independent testimony which the author of the history of England renders to Thurot's bravery, courage and humanity. This is what he says (1) : *A small squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprising adventurer, called Thurot, who had in the course of the preceding year, signalised his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the Belleisle, which had scoured the North Seas, taken a number of ships, and at one time maintained an obstinate battle against two English frigates, which were obliged to desist after having received considerable damage. This man's name became a terror to the merchants of Great Britain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct in eluding the pursuit of the British cruisers, who were successively detached in quest of him, through every part of the German Ocean and North Sea as far as the islands of Orkney. It must be likewise owned for the honour of human nature, that this bold mariner though destitute of the advantages of birth and education, was remarkably distinguished by his generosity and compassion to those who had the misfortune to fall into his power; and that his deportment in every respect entitled him to a much more honourable rank in the service of his country. The court of Versailles was not insensible to his merit. He obtained a commission and was vested with the command of the small armament now fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk. The British government, being apprised of all these particulars, took such measures to defeat the proposed invasion as must have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain.*

Both Houses of Parliament having shown, by loving addresses, the gratitude and approval they felt with regard to their sovereign's wise designs, the Government made a particular point of distributing its squadrons in such a way that those French harbours where, it was known, preparations were being made for the expedition, were blockaded by English men-of-war which kept up a chain of communication by means a fleet of privateers. On their side, the French took every possible precaution to ensure the success of the projected invasion. The ships in the harbours of Rochefort, Brest and Port-Louis were ordered to assemble under the command of M. de Conflans. Flat-bottomed boats and transports had also

(1) *History of England*, by T. Smollett, M. D. Vol. V, pp. 554-5 (Edition of 1810).

been prepared in several of the ports. Thurot was to make for the northern coasts of Ireland so as to raise an alarm on that side of England farthest removed from that where M. de Conflans was to disembark. On board the Brest and Rochefort squadrons, French troops and a detachment of the Irish Brigade were embarked, with considerable forces of artillery, saddles and other cavalry equipment, and it is even asserted that Prince Edward, who was still to trouble Great Britain's rest, went incognito to the neighbourhood of Vannes, with the intention of making a new attempt to excite a rising.

Thurot's squadron was ready, and he received orders to sail. M. de Choiseul, who had just become Minister, wrote him the following letter, dated September 27th, 1759.

I am very glad, my dear Thurot, to know that you are at last afloat. That is not all, you must now set out; you must allow no set-back to be ascribed to your discredit; you must not draw down upon me reproaches for the friendship and support that I have promised you, the which I shall certainly continue so long as you do not fail to justify my confidence in your good leadership and your talents.

When Thurot had received this letter, he was more than ever anxious to set sail, ready to face all the dangers he might incur from the English fleet which was masking Dunkirk roads. There were five frigates in his squadron. The *Maréchal de Belle-Isle,* of forty-four guns; the *Bégon,* of thirty-six; the *Blonde,* of forty-two; the *Terpsicore,* of twenty-six; the *Amarante,* of eighteen, and his advice-boat, the *Faucon,* of eighteen. The land forces which he took on board consisted of about one thousand two hundred men under the command of M. de Flobert, an Infantry Brigadier. They were distributed as follows: on board the *Belle-Isle,* sixty grenadiers of the regiment of French Guards, two detachments of French Guards, two of Swiss Guards, a company of grenadiers and a detachment of Cambis; on board the *Bégon,* two detachments of French Guards, two of Swiss Guards, two detachments of Cambis and one of foreign volunteers; on board the *Blonde,* a company of grenadiers and five detachments of Artois; on board the *Terpsicore,* a company of grenadiers and four detachments of Burgundians; on board the *Amarante,* a company of grenadiers and three detachments of foreign volunteers.

Thurot's Field of Action. (Dutch map of the XVIIIth century.)

Departure of the expedition, October, 15th, 1759.

It was on the 15th of October, 1759, about five o' clock in the afternoon that Thurot sailed out of Dunkirk roads. He skilfully chose a moment when north winds had sent the English back upon their own coast to start upon a course which it had seemed his enemies' presence would probably close to him for some time. At 9 o'clock at night he anchored off Ostend. It was his intention, before going any farther, to find out what the enemy were about in this neigbourhood, so that he should not fall into their hands during the night, and also so that he might deceive them about the route he was going to take.

When, says M. Smollett, *the ministry of England received the first advice that M. Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk with a small squadron of armed ships, having on board a body of land troops, designed for a private expedition on the coast of Scotland or Ireland, expresses were immediately dispatched to the commanding officers of the forces in North Britain, with orders to put the forts along the coast of that country in the best posture of defence, and to hold everthing in readiness to repel the enemy, in case they should attempt a descent. In consequence of these instructions, beacons were erected for the immediate communication of intelligence; places of rendez-vous appointed for the regular troops and militia, and strict orders issued that no officer should absent himself from his duty on any pretence whatever. The greatest enconium that can be given to the character of this partizan,* adds this historian, *is an account of the alarm which his puny armament spread through the whole extent of such a powerful kingdom, whose fleets covered the seas* (1).

At dawn on the 16th, he noticed two English ships anchored in the same roads at a distance of twice the range of his squadron's guns. A cutter which came from the sea fired two guns as a signal, approached these ships, spoke them, and they immediately set sail. During the day several other ships came in sight, but they kept some distance away. Thurot, fearing lest they were meditating some scheme against him, made his arrangements with regard to the course he had decided to take. He had not much time for reflection, for, on the 17th, about 7 o'clock in the morning, when all his ships were at single anchor, the *Bégon's* cable parted, and as she was drifting upon the *Belle-Isle,* Thurot, seeing no purpose in letting go another anchor, cut his own cable to avoid the *Bégon,* and chose that moment to give the signal to sail.

(1) *History of England,* by T. Smollett, M. D. Vol. V, pp. 571-2 (edition of 1810).

How Thurot escapes the vigilance of the English ships.

After leaving the Ostend roads, the fleet took various courses so as to avoid those places where the enemy might be. Still they sighted several vessels, though these were scattered and far removed from one another. After going along the coasts of Holland and Jutland, Thurot came, on the 22nd, to the Cattegat, where he captured an English snow (the *Lincoln*). The nearness of Gothenberg gave him the idea of putting in there, both to set the enemy guessing, to take on board new anchors and more supplies and to repair the *Bégon*, whose masts had suffered considerably. So, on the 26th, he entered Gothenberg harbour, and there was rejoined by the *Faucon*, which after being lost, had had the good fortune to capture the *William*, a brigantine.

If the many frigates which England set apart to secure the safety of the eastern coasts of Scotland and Ireland; says the author of the Journal of Dunkirk, *if the fleet dispatched under the command of Sir (Piercy) Brett, and that of Commodore Boys, which was detailed to prevent the flotilla from sailing, and charged with its pursuit in case it should succeed in getting out, could not prevent Thurot from reaching Gothenberg and leaving it as he wished, what may we not expect from the future?*

He who learns, adds the same author, *that five corsairs were able to elude the vigilance of more than fifty ships, corsairs as well as frigates and ships of the line hard upon their heels, will readily agree, either that the enemy was very feeble, or that the merits of him who was opposed to them were far beyond all the praise that the imagination can bestow upon him.* The *Houmar*, which Thurot had left, the previous June, in the North Sea, happened to enter Gothenberg harbour and rejoined the squadron. Thurot having done what he proposed to do, was preparing to sail, when the wind suddenly changed, and kept him until the 14th, when he set sail with an east wind.

During the night of the 15th, the sea became very rough. At daybreak it was seen that the *Bégon* and the *Terpsicore* were missing.

The *Terpsicore* rejoined them about mid-day. Some time later, Thurot sighted two ships and steered towards them, thinking that one of them was the *Bégon*, but he soon discovered his mistake. As he had notified M. Grieux, the captain of the *Bégon*, as well as the other frigates, that should anything untoward occur, the port of Bergen should be their rendezvous, he decided to go there, and, on the 17th, anchored in the bay of Beroben, about four leagues from Bergen.

(XVIII^th century map.)

After having waited several days, and sent in all directions to get news of the *Bégon,* Thurot, hearing nothing, put to sea again on October 5th. Contrary winds and heavy weather compelled him to take various courses. On the 18th, he sighted the Faroe Islands. Winds from the South-south-east and South-south-west which had prevailed for a long time and showed every sign of continuing, determined him to take shelter near some of these islands, there to await more favourable weather and not to try his ships unduly. He went by the Wagefiord river so far as the harbour of Westman Haven and Stromoe Island, and there anchored on the 18th. His first care was to lay in a new stock of provisions, so that he could leave immediately the weather permitted. The Governor of the Faroe Islands made some difficulty about providing these supplies, and Thurot, learning that the trouble was in part occasioned by the lawerman, or judge, sent armed detachments to intimidate them both, and to take by force what they were unwilling to give for money. This produced a good effect, and twenty-nine oxen were brought on board the squadron. Thurot himself went to Thorshaven which is the principal town of the Faroes on Stromoe Island, there to see the landvogt or intendant of the country, to obtain from him various things that the squadron needed. He secured supplies of barley flour, peat, brandy and tobacco.

The squadron puts in at the Faroe Islands

It was while they were at these islands that a difference of opinion began to manifest itself between Thurot and M. de Flobert, a difference that did considerable damage to the expedition. Some days after their arrival at the Faroes, Thurot rebuked with some dryness and vivacity an officer of the land forces who complained about the food. M. de Flobert, who, more than once, had showed his ill feeling for Thurot, because the latter had always refused to show him his confidential instructions, which the Court had expressly ordered him to keep secret until the very moment of the raid, said haughtily that Thurot's tone did not please him and, calling the officer of the watch, demanded fusiliers and a corporal to put Thurot under arrest. The Captain, indignant at so strange an order, was about to read the King's decree to prove that he was *de jure* and *de facto* master of his own ship, when M. de Flobert, fearing lest his authority should be compromised if he persisted in his foolish behaviour, withdrew, and the quarrel subsided, though not without leaving a leaven

Dispute between Thurot and M. de Flobert, the commander of the land forces.

of animosity which continually fermented, occasioned everlasting quarrels, and ended by sowing a seed of insubordination among the soldiers which was to have very unfortunate results in the future.

The bad weather continued, and the squadron experienced five considerable storms. This misfortune obliged Thurot to take the precaution of reducing the rations to 10 ounces of bread per day, and to suppress the double rations which had been drawn by officers, sergeants and domestics. To appease the murmurs which this retrenchment called forth, he gave bonds whereby he promised to pay, on the return to France, a sum proportionate to the deductions made from the rations.

At the beginning of this discontinuance, the commander of the land forces suggested that the principal officers should be called together to discuss the action to be taken. Thurot agreed.

At the council, M. de Flobert declared that, in view of all the accidents that had happened to the fleet, the shortage of provisions, the separation from the *Bégon,* the disappearance of two corvettes and the loss of two longboats, it was of the utmost importance for the good of the service that the expedition should return immediately to France, and by the shortest way. All these considerations, brought forward forcefully and in a decided tone, did not make the slightest change in Thurot's plans. Far from allowing his zeal to relax, Thurot, in a written reply to M. de Flobert's remarks, tried to communicate it in some measure to the troops and crews. This said in substance that if victuals were short in the Faroe Islands, they should be sought in England where they existed in abundance. The winds, he added, which have long been unfavourable to us will change, and it will take us but three days to reach our goal. The only honourable means of being truly useful to our country is to create a diversion ; to attack the enemy upon his own soil ; to brave all perils to succeed in this glorious attempt rather than return shamefully to France, after so much pain and suffering, without having dared to do anything. Moreover, the shortest route is by England ; it is upon her shores that we must stay. I am absolutely determined to make a raid : the motives of a retreat so dishonouring as that which has been proposed could only befit an army upon whom the safety of the country depended. Finally, the courage and determination essential to the career of arms are not displayed unless men are

prepared to suffer the hardships and calamities which that career inflicts upon them.

It was by speeches such as this, by never allowing himself to be discouraged by anything that happened, that Thurot sustained the courage of the troops, and resisted the openly expressed intention of going contrary to his designs and giving up the whole undertaking.

Finally, on the 6th of January, 1760, the wind coming strong from the north-west, the squadron left the Faroe Islands and passed on the following days, first the Island of Lewis (one of the Western Islands) and then Saint Hilda. On the 30th, the coast of Ireland was sighted, and Thurot prepared for a disembarkation on the morrow. At 10 o'clock, however, the wind changed to the S.-S.-E. and he was driven off. On the 2nd of February, he once more approached the shore, but a very thick fog compelled the fleet to stand off.

In January 1760, the expedition is in sight of the Irish coast.

The following day, Thurot made a complete reconnaissance of the coast, and about six o'clock in the evening, after rounding Tory Island, made towards the shore to go into Londonderry.

To this end he manœuvred and made all the necessary signals, but the channel was narrow, the night very dark and the wind veered to the W.-S.-W. He tacked, and so that he might not get too far from his objective, decided to anchor close to the land in Lough Foyle, whereon Londonderry stands. In order to do this, the ships were obliged to beat to windward. Then an accident to the fore mast of the *Blonde* obliged the other ships to heave to, lest they should lose sight of her. Then there came a storm, and on the days that followed, a succession of accidents which delayed the disembarkation still further.

On the 10th, Thurot was returning to his objective with better hopes of success, when the wind again carried him back to sea.

That day, he captured the *Boyne*, a snow laden with flax seed, and sent the bread he found aboard her to the *Terpsicore*.

On the 11th of February, Thurot was informed that the land officers of the *Amarante* had asked those on board the *Terpsicore* what they thought about the expedition, and that the latter had replied that it was bound to fail. Thereupon it was decided between the two

The officers of the frigate *Amarante* decide, in spite of Thurot, to return to France.

frigates that they would leave the rest of the squadron and return to France. This indeed the *Amarante* did a few days later.

On the 21st, after having inquired into the circumstances of the *Amarante's* departure, Thurot told the *Blonde* and the *Terpsicore* that he was going to go about and find the lost frigate, then, if the winds continued to be contrary, he would lay his course for Bergen as the most suitable place for laying in a new store of provisions. The *Blonde* replied that there was not a moment to lose. M. de Russilly, commanding the detachment on board the *Terpsicore* made a speech, complaining bitterly of the cutting down of rations, and the shortness of supplies, and ended by saying that all the officers had decided to return to France. Thurot showed them all the dangers of such a course, and the disastrous results they might bring upon themselves. Then he altered course to find the *Amarante,* but the two other frigates, especially the *Terpsicore,* who knew quite well what the *Amarante* was about, did not answer the signal. So Thurot was obliged to yield, and considering that it was more prudent to give up one little frigate than to lose two, made for Bergen. He was about to pass through Saint George's Channel, so as to have land on either hand, that they might not run the risk of dying of hunger, when M. de Russilly, throwing off the mask completely, informed him in the name of the officers of the *Terpsicore,* that they proposed to go west of Ireland and so make for France. Thurot ordered M. Dernaudais, the captain of the frigate, to follow him and declared that, if he refused, he would hold him responsible to the King for all that happened. M. de Russilly replied that he would accept all the responsibility, and that it was his purpose as soon as the fleet arrived, to go to the Court and complain of Thurot's conduct and have him punished.

The officers of the *Amarante* determine to abandon Thurot.

M. Dernaudais, who had no hand in the plot, and whose intention was to follow Thurot, was compelled, according to a *procès-verbal* signed by the officers of both forces, to give way to their unanimous desire, and sail by the west of Ireland.

Thurot then fired a shot as a signal to the frigate to rejoin him, but as she showed no signs of obeying, he fired a second shot. Then she came and the captain went on board the *Belle-Isle.* If he had seemed to agree with the ideas of the troops, he would have been broken immediately,

but, when he had shown by his *procès-verbal* that he had been compelled to do what he had done, Thurot sent him back on board his ship with new instructions, and swore that all who had taken part in the plot should be severely punished.

M. Larreguy, the captain of the *Blonde,* who had discovered what the *Terpsicore* was about, passed close to the *Belle-Isle,* and told

Boarding. (Engraving by Baugean.)

Thurot that he might count upon him, and that he would never leave him.

M. Thurot, always hoping to find a chance to land, allowed the ordinary ration of eight ounces of bread to be distributed, but the officer in charge of the troops having given orders the night before that only five ounces should be given to the soldiers, these rightly complained to see the sailors better served than themselves. When Thurot was told about this, he ordered the distribution to be equalised. M. de Flobert endeavoured to pick a quarrel with him on this score, but without success. The same day, however, there broke out another, which established

both M. de Flobert's culpable impudence and the extent of his hatred for Thurot.

At 10 o'clock in the morning, at the council, he asked the captain for explanations with regard to his course, which, it had been agreed the evening before, was to lie through Saint George's Channel, but whose goal appeared to have been changed to Londonderry. Thurot agreed that he was making for Londonderry. M. de Flobert asked him what he proposed to do if the wind again refused him entry, and he replied that he would then give up his project and continue on his way. To this M. de Flobert replied : *So be it, but if we are not in Londonderry harbour to-morrow morning by six o'clock, and you still refuse to give up this scheme, I shall have you under arrest and will take possession of the ship.*

Thurot, who was not the sort of man to be put upon, was exasperated by a speech calculated to excite as much surprise as indignation, looked contemptuously at M. de Flobert, and calmly replied :

If that is how you take it, well and good. Threats do not alarm me. I am far from being afraid of you and I defy you to arrest me.

M. de Flobert ordered the sentinel not to allow him to go out, and rushing like a madman from the council chamber, called the guard to arms, and ordered Thurot's arrest. Thurot went straight to his room, took his pistols, pushed past the sentinel and went on the quarter deck, defying the boldest of them to lay hands on him. The guard was composed of Cambis grenadiers with a corporal. Intimidated by Thurot's proud and threatening bearing, and doubtless held in check also by the respect which his courage and actions always inspired, they held back. Wiser than their commander, they felt that they would compromise him if they carried out the act of violence which he had commanded them. Meanwhile, the officers who were present, persuaded M. de Flobert that he had exceeded his powers, and urged him to take back his order. He yielded. To bring this scandalous scene to an end, and to make sure that it should never be repeated, Thurot prepared to read the instructions which the King had given him on embarkation, with regard to the conduct both of the troops and the sailors, so it would have been easy for him, by making known that article which constituted him sole commander-in-chief of the squadron, to put M. de Flobert in his proper place. De Flobert

forbade his soldiers to listen to it, whereupon Thurot said that he would have it posted. M. de Flobert then said that anyone who dared to post it should be arrested. Thurot, who for love of peace, had been complaisant enough not to publish the order, was kind enough also not to have it posted. So he avoided any further bitterness, and calm was restored.

The same day, Thurot made for the island of Enistrahull, which he doubled and hove to to windward of the Londonderry channel, there to await the *Blonde* and the *Terpsicore,* which had been compelled by a sudden change in the wind to make for the open sea. So alarmed were they that when they realised they were out of range of the *Belle-Isle,* during the night they decided to abandon Thurot. He put a light at his top-mast, another at his main-top, a lantern at the poop, and every now and again fired a gun to bring the frigates to him. But instead of replying to his signals, they took council as to the course they should follow. It was only by a misunderstanding that they reappeared the next day : they had agreed that *if* the *Belle-Isle* did not come up with them, they would at 10 o'clock that night sail together by way of Ireland, but the *Terpsicore* had understood that two o'clock was the time agreed upon, and so did not rejoin the *Blonde* at the proper hour. Meanwhile, the winds changed and became so favourable that Thurot would have gone into Lough Foyle at once, if the *Terpsicore* and the *Blonde* had been with him. In any case, the weather did not favour their flight, and hey were constrained to rejoin the *Belle-Isle* after taking the precaution of binding everybody on board not to speak of what had passed. They excused themselves to Thurot by the story that the wind had blown them out to sea during the night.

They were already preparing to anchor at Londonderry when the wind veered to the south-west. On the 15th, troops and crew were put upon five ounces of bread. The officers, seeing that provisions were short again, urged Thurot to return to France, but he closed his ears to all their remonstrances, and announced that he was determined not to go back until he had fulfilled the purpose of his mission. However, to give them some relief, he put in to the island of Isla. There he learned from a gentleman named Archibald Macdonald that the naval force commanded by M. the Marshal de Conflans, had been utterly defeated by that of Admiral

Thurot was about to land at Londonderry when he heard of the defeat of Marshal de Conflans.

Hawke. This, though already an event of the past, was new to him, and it threw him into the greatest consternation. He realised well enough that the plan of a raid which he had put before the Marshal de Belle-Isle, and which the Minister had adopted, could only cause any considerable damage to the enemy so long as it was carried out in conjunction with the main expedition. Now that this had failed, his own became not only arduous and full of danger, but its success would be very incertain. Nevertheless, he persisted in his plan, believing his honour to be involved should he return to France without striking a few blows for his country. The instructions which the King had given Thurot were that he should do nothing against Scotland. He was ordered, should circumstances oblige him to make a landing there, to behave as a friend, to use weapons only in self-defence, and even should he be treated as an enemy, he was take nothing without payment. But the positive orders of the English government forbade the inhabitants of the island to give any kind of provisions to the French.

Thurot, compelled by sheer necessity to have recourse to force, arranged with M. de Flobert to land four companies of grenadiers to persuade the inhabitants, should they refuse to supply cattle, and so to put them beyond all danger of reproof. M. Dusoulier, who commanded this detachment, secured forty oxen, a small quantity of oatmeal, and a few other trifles for which Thurot paid handsomely, the captain having always comported himself with as much moderation as generosity, as even the English bore witness.

He was told that several vessels at anchor in a neighbouring harbour were laden with flour. Of these he took possession with the consent of the owner.

The men whom he had sent to board these vessels had committed several excesses, and complaints were made to him. Among other things, he was told that the officer in charge of the boat had put his pistol to the head of the captain of one of the ships and had forced him to hand over fifty guineas. Thurot, not having time to deal with the matter fully himself, was ready to hand over the culprit to his accuser as a pledge, but the man was satisfied with the officer's note.

On the 19th, about mid-day, the squadron set sail, and the next day,

at the entrance to Saint George's Channel, off Cape Cantire, captured the *Ingram,* an English ship laden with salt and oranges, from Lisbon to Glasgow. She carried fourteen guns.

In spite of everything, Thurot decides to fulfil his mission and enters Saint George's Channel, March 1st, 1760.

At 8 o'clock in the evening, Thurot asked for a moment's conversation with M. de Flobert and said : *To-night I propose to enter Carrickfergus bay, and to anchor there either at midnight or at dawn. That is the place where you must operate. There are two objectives : Belfast and Carrickfergus. I will disembark you at White House; first you will attack Belfast, which is a rich commercial town with neither fortifications nor troops. Threaten to burn it down, and the inhabitants will hasten to give you all the supplies the squadron needs. You will levy a heavy contribution upon it and then go to Carrickfergus. This is a poor and insignificant town, and you will have no difficulty in capturing its castle which is old, ruined, and defenceless. You will set free the French prisoners who are detained there. You will then compel the inhabitants to hand over to you the few provisions and moneys which can be expected from their poverty, and I will re-embark you before the English ships have time to learn of the raid. This attack must be entirely in the nature of a surprise. Do not give the enemy time to find out what is afoot. Rush in, and you will succeed.*

Instead of following this plan, which was based upon profound knowledge of the district, M. de Flobert, who seemed to make it his especial business to frustrate Thurot in all his undertakings, did exactly the contrary. He had seen from his map that Hilroot was nearer to Carrickfergus than White House. It was there, he said, the ships must anchor, and roundly declared that if this were not done, he would not land his troops. In vain Thurot raised objections, and proved up to the hilt the advantages of his own suggestion ; nothing would change M. de Flobert's decision, and in order that the operation might not utterly fail, there was nothing to be done but to fall in with it.

The squadron anchors at Hilroot and sends the landing party ashore.

Thurot anchored at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 21st, opposite the village of Hilroot, and the troops were ordered to get ready. After breakfast they were given a little brandy which Thurot had carefully preserved for this occasion, and then the landing began from all the frigates at once, about half-past eleven in the morning.

Thurot having asked M. de Flobert what decision he had come to, whether he would go first to Belfast as he had advised, de Flobert replied

that not having wings, he took one step after another, and that he would first march upon Carrickfergus.

A fishing vessel which Thurot captured told him that there were six hundred French prisoners at Belfast and Carrickfergus, and gave him exact information with regard to the forces in both towns. He sent on the information to M. de Flobert, and immediately weighed anchor and went to White House, where he had seen three ships which he could easily have captured had his plan of disembarkation been followed. Apart from the supplies which would have been obtained if these vessels had been captured, it would have been possible to get information from them, but the attempt failed ; the vessels, suspecting that the fleet was French, had gone further up the river to put themselves out of reach of a possible surprise.

Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings having learned that three ships had anchored two miles and a half from the castle, at once sent a detachment to reconnoitre, and had his French prisoners transferred to Belfast.

Instead of marching upon Belfast, de Flobert goes to Carrickfergus.

The troops disembarked, six hundred strong, without opposition. M. de Flobert put himself at the head of the first division, and marched straight to the town, which was as well guarded as any place could be that was open and with few resources.

The French began the attack, and, at first met with some resistance ; but the English, compelled to yield in the face of numbers, withdrew into the castle, hotly pursued by the French.

Capture of Carrickfergus.

They could not hold long out, for they had not even the most necessary of supplies, and the walls were in such a bad condition that there was a breach in them more than twenty feet wide. However, the commander repelled the first attack of the assailants, and killed many soldiers. M. de Flobert was wounded in the leg by a musket shot, and this obliged him to retire to have it attended. He handed over the command to M. de Cavenac and told him to summon the enemy's commander to surrender.

As the French officer drew near the castle, the doors suddenly opened. The French believed it was a sortie and prepared to receive the enemy, but only an officer with a drawn sword appeared, with a drummer going before him. It was the commanding officer himself : he asked to be allowed to capitulate and this was granted him. The terms were made verbally : Colonel Jennings agreed to surrender, on condition that neither he nor

his soldiers should be sent as prisoners to France, but that they should be exchanged for a like number of French either in England or in Ireland ; that the castle should not be demolished, and that the town should neither be pillaged not burned, provided that the mayor and the inhabitants gave the French all the provisions they needed. Having agreed upon these terms, the French entered the castle, and the garrison laid down their arms. There were two hundred in all (officers as well as men), of the Strood regiment whereof Mr. Jennings was Lieutenant-Colonel. They had lost four killed and a dozen wounded ; the French lost nineteen with thirty wounded, counting M. de Flobert.

Smollett tells us of an occurrence which is worthy to go down to posterity as an example of that mingling of courage and humanity which constitutes true heroism.

A soldier's kindness of heart.

While the English and the French were engaged in the most desperate fighting in one of the streets, a little child ran playing between them, with no idea of the danger he was running. A French soldier saw him put down his musket down and boldly advancing between the two fires, took the child in his arms, put him in a safe place, and then returned to the place where he had left his musket and began to fight again.

When the French were masters of all the gates, the articles of capitulation were signed. In spite of the precautions of the officers to prevent pillage, several soldiers found an opportunity to get into the town and sacked a few houses. As soon as this was perceived, patrols were sent through all the streets, the most exact inventory was made of all that the soldiers had taken, and the spoil was given to the mayor of the town with instructions that it should be handed back to each of the citizens to whom it belonged.

On the 22nd, the town of Carrickfergus not being in a position to furnish the supplies the squadron needed, the mayor asked permission to send to Belfast one of the merchants of the place, a certain Cobbold, to secure what more was needed. He was despatched at once with the sieur Cléry, an apprentice-pilot on board the *Belle-Isle*. Meanwhile orders were given to all the bakers of the town to bake without stopping.

M. Cobbold returned with the sieur Cléry about noon, and they brought with them a letter from the magistrates of Belfast promising to

send all that was asked of them during the course of the day. The terror which had spread through that town did not allow them a moment's hesitation.

Let us now return to Thurot. As soon as he had anchored near White House, he sent on shore an officer to know what was the result of M. de Flobert's operations. The only reply the latter made was to say that Thurot's presence was necessary. The captain immediately went to him (it was the morning after the taking of Carrickfergus), and renewed his entreaties that he should hurry forward the attack upon Belfast. Thurot showed that the town must inevitably be taken, for, from certain news he had of it, it was only defended by two hundred men of the regular forces and a few militia.

Thurot urges de Flobert to march on Belfast.

M. de Flobert continued to refuse, although M. de Beauhamel, the captain of the Burgundians, had offered to take it himself if he were allowed a detachment of no more than three hundred men.

The Comte de Scordek offered to do the same with only two hundred and fifty men, but these two brave officers, who cannot be too highly praised, met with refusal, and Thurot was compelled to go back on board with the almost certain fear that he would see the failure of his undertaking owing to M. de Flobert's obstinacy The same day, the *Blonde* captured a brigantine called the *Clyde,* laden with sugar and tobacco.

On the 23rd, Thurot wrote to the commander of the detachment to urge him to complete his victory by marching on Belfast. In his letter he said that he would not re-embark the troops until the town was taken ; that there was the more point in taking it because of the victuals in abundance that would be found there ; that heavy contributions could be levied upon it, and that it would be much more convenient to re-embark the troops there than at Carrickfergus, because of the convenience of the flat boats in Belfast harbour. *The plan I propose to you,* he added, *is the only one practicable in our circumstances, and the only one which promises definite advantage in addition to the glory of success. I can no longer put off my departure. After tomorrow I shall sail. The enemy, warned of our arrival, will undoubtedly come and attack us in the harbour, and it is my duty to avoid them. So, no victuals, no re-embarkation, for it is better that you should remain prisoners in Ireland than that you should die of hunger on board ship.*

M. de Flobert's reply to this letter, to which we join letters from M. de Cavenac, admirably depicts his character and his feelings with regard to Thurot. These are its terms.

Monsieur de Flobert's letter.

If, with your ships, you had done the hundredth part of what I have done with a quarter of my detachment, it would not now be in the cruel situation to which it is reduced by your fault alone, wherefore you shall answer to the King with your head. The intentions of the King, when he entrusted to you the leadership of a detachment, did not permit you to sacrifice it obviously in the carrying out of impossible schemes and chimeras. If you had been prudent enough to fear famine as much as I, the only ill for which there is no remedy, and beyond the courage of the Royal troops, you would not be reduced to the cruel threat of abandoning us to the discretion of His Majesty's enemies. It is your duty to let anything happen rather than fail to re-embark the detachment.

Owing to your fault, being reduced for several days to four or five ounces of biscuit, the troops were not in a fit state to continue operations either yesterday or to-day, for they have had no food beyond three loaves of bread for each picket. You yourself agree that the soldiers are weakened, but doubtless they have enough courage left to do beyond their strength.

You alone will be responsible for what happens : the greatest mistake in war is to put oneself in a position wherein one is compelled to do what one should not. I repeat and summon you in the name of the King, to run any risk rather than abandon the detachment. I am, and shall always remain the same towards you.

Signed : FLOBERT.

First letter of M. de Cavenac.

I have written with the greatest urgency to Belfast that you should have provisions on board to-morrow. They will assuredly be there, because we have here as a hostage one of the principal citizens of Belfast, and even if the promise is not fully kept, we have enough here, and all that we shall need to take us back to France, and you cannot dispense yourself from taking us there.

Signed : CAVENAC.

P. S. — As commanding officer of the detachment, I summon you, in the name of the King, not to abandon it, and to run every risk, even beyond those that may happen, rather than abandon us to the King's enemies. We are keeping all your officers here.

Another letter from Monsieur de Cavenac :

It no longer appears in doubt that the enemy are making their dispositions to come here. So, it is absolutely indispensable that you should provide for our immediate re-embarkation by all the means of which you can dispose. We must be sent ten barrels of cartridges ready made, and ten barrels of bullets.

Signed : CAVENAC.

Thurot re-embarks the landing party.

On the 24th, Thurot replied to M. de Flobert that he cared nothing for his threats, but that, since he absolutely refused to go to Belfast, he was ready to provide for the re-embarkation of the soldiers. He ended by advising him to threaten the inhabitants again so as to persuade them to furnish the complement of victuals that had been agreed upon, at the earliest possible moment, and to take as hostages four of the most important citizens, and so make sure that their promises were kept. He took on board an ample supply of fresh water, potatoes to take the place of bread, and, on the 25th, at five o'clock in the afternoon, the re-embarkation began.

M. de Cavenac took with him the mayor and three important citizens as hostages, so as to make sure of the supply of water which he left on shore until the morning, as well as for the safety of M. de Flobert and twelve wounded men who stayed at Carrickfergus, without which, according to the terms of the capitulation, they could have been made prisoners of war.

The re-embarkation was completed on the 26th. The winds veering continually from south-west to west-north-west, and blowing very strongly, the anchor could not be weighed that day. Advantage of the delay was taken to make an agreement with the hostages, whereby it was stipulated that the town of Carrickfergus should pay a sum of one thousand pounds sterling, in place of the provisions which it had failed to provide as it had agreed.

Of the four hostages, two were sent back, and the other two (Master Chaplain, mayor of Carrickfergus, and Master Spaight, merchant), were kept on board the *Belle-Isle* as a guarantee for the execution of this arrangement.

On the 27th, the wind having veered to the northwest, and blowing

a gale of the utmost violence, it was impossible to weigh anchor and sail before midnight.

On the 28th, at half past four, after passing the light on Copeland Island, making towards the south, and being five leagues south-west of the entrance to Carrickfergus bay, three ships were sighted. They were an English squadron apparently equal in strength, but really superior in men and guns. Moreover they were well equipped while Thurot's fleet was utterly out of repair.

The corsair's death.

As the English vessels had had plenty of warning during the time that M. de Flobert and de Cavenac were amusing themselves, they were perfectly acquainted with the strength of the French squadron and its condition.

Thurot kept as close to the wind as possible, and trusting to the lightness and good sailing of the *Belle-Isle,* took to flight, signalling to the other frigates to avoid an engagement, which it would have been imprudent to risk in view of their small numbers, the weariness and the weakness of the crews.

Soon, finding himself too close to Galloway Head (in Scotland), he was obliged to stand off to the south. In spite of all his efforts, the enemy was gaining on him. The nearness of the Isle of Man then compelled him to go east again, and in view of the superior speed of the English ships a struggle became inevitable. Thurot made the signal to close, and a signal also to speak him : the *Blonde,* instead of answering, went on, and the *Terpsicore* bore towards him for a moment, and then took to flight.

Thurot and the *Belle-Isle* at bay before an enemy squadron.

The intrepid Thurot, with nothing more than his own frigate, then determined to engage the three enemy ships. He fired at the leader who replied immediately, and the struggle began. While they were at grips, the two other English frigates came alongside, and fired broadsides, which damaged him cruelly. Artillery fire and musketry made the action very deadly. Several of the *Belle-Isle's* gunners lost heart, and in spite of the repeated exhortations of their captain, ran down into the hold. Fortune had now made up her mind to abandon Thurot, but this defection did not abate his courage. Seeing that the enemy were killing off his men, and that his own artillery was no longer served with vigour enough to sustain the combat advantageously, he yielded to his natural impetuosity

and tried to board the commodore's ship. But that ship going forward, and being superior in speed to the *Belle-Isle,* the *Belle-Isle's* bowsprit became entangled with the other's mizzen shrouds, and was broken in two by the shock, at the collar of the fore stay. The Aeolus immediately freed herself and stood off a little, having suffered severely in this first attack.

The French frigates *Blonde* and *Terpsicore* abandon the *Belle-Isle.*

Again Thurot signalled to the *Blonde* and the *Terpsicore,* to come and do their duty, but still they did not come. The *Belle-Isle,* after an hour's unequal fighting, had lost her mizzen mast; her top-masts were carried away; all her rigging was cut, and worse, she had three shot holes beneath the water line, two in the starboard quarter, while the third hole, in the gunner's store room, caused a leak so great that it could not be stopped and threatened to sink the ship. The two English frigates, taking advantage of her desperate condition, fired a second volley that completely unrigged her. The musketry fire was still kept up, but the struggle was becoming too one-sided. The *Blonde,* upon whose help Thurot most counted, still went on and did not fire a single shot at the enemy. Thurot could not prevent himself from saying to his officers, referring to the captain of that frigate: *That is the man on whom I counted; he is abandoning me.*

Thurot's heroic resistance.

The *Pallas* and the *Brilliant,* astonished at Thurot's more than human valour, continued to cannonade his ship. Soon the quarter-deck was completely destroyed, and the great wheel of the helm broken. One after another, five helmsmen had been killed at their post, and the *Belle-Isle* was in a most lamentable state. One of the enemy frigates then left her to engage with the *Terpsicore* which only came to the assistance of the *Belle-Isle* when it was no longer of any use. The other gave chase to the *Blonde,* which only appeared long after.

Whilst Thurot was fighting among all the carnage, trying to encourage his men, and still either to gain the victory or, at least, to lose it with honour, the English leader having put his ship to rights, returned to the charge and to finish off the *Belle-Isle.* Several times, Thurot's officers had represented to him that as his ship was no longer able to defend herself, it was useless to hold out longer, and that there was no other course left but surrender. In spite of these just remonstrances, Thurot could not be shaken. Preferring death rather than the shame of having to

lower his flag, he awaited the last of all the joys that were to come to him, that of dying upon the field of battle, rather than living exposed either to the derision of those who were envious of him, or to the insulting triumph of the enemy. His soul was assailed by no other fear, but was calm and at peace. He enjoyed the satisfaction, worthy of a warrior like himself, of realising that dying, as he did, sword in hand, for his country, he would

Uniforms of the Royal Navy in 1772. From left to right : officer of the Naval Regiment of Bayonne; Captain; Soldier of the Naval Regiment of Saint-Malo. (Litho by David, after Marbot.)

cover himself with glory. His ship riddled with shot, with five feet of water in the hold, her masts broken, her rigging cut away, her powder about to give out, and her crew with ninety men out of action, after two hours resistance, he was ordering still another broadside, when a ball from a swivel hit him in the pit of the stomach, and he fell dead. Only then did the struggle end ; the *Belle-Isle* surrendered, and her example was followed by the *Blonde* and the *Terpsicore*. There were about a hundred

men killed and wounded on board the *Belle-Isle*. The two ships had very board few losses.

The English commander had not the satisfaction of rendering the last honours to his brave opponent. Thurot's body was thrown into the sea by his own soldiers, according to the account of the officer who had been sent to board the *Belle-Isle*.

The remainder of the expedition captured by the English.

The French frigates were taken to Ramsey, in the Isle of Man. There was considerable difficulty in getting the *Belle-Isle* there, so badly had she been knocked about. She was making eight feet of water, and it was only by continual work at the pump that she was prevented from sinking.

Mr. Elliot wished to land all the wounded and the prisoners in the Isle of Man, and even took steps to do so, but as this island is entirely the private property of the Duke of Atholl, and is independent of the King of England, this was not possible. He then decided to take them on board the *Pallas*, except for a very few whom he left on board the *Blonde* and *Terpsicore*, and sent to Belfast.

He kept the three French frigates with the *Aeolus* and the *Brilliant*, left the detachment of the Artois regiment on board the *Blonde*, thirty men on board the *Terpsicore*, and all the wounded in their own ships.

At Belfast, the soldiers were imprisoned in the Linen Hall, while the officers were lodged at the inn and treated with much kindness. At last, on May 19th, all the prisoners were embarked on board the packets *William, George*, and *Lord Dunlince*, to be returned to France, where they arrived on the 21st.

Such was the end of that unfortunate expedition and of the famous fleet which was for long the hope of France, the terror of England, and the object of all Europe's attention, That vast project, thought out by Thurot, and suggested by him to the Minister, failed, as we have said, through the shameful defeat of the Marshal de Conflans. Yet, even despite this disaster, that part of the scheme which Thurot had himself to carry out, would have succeeded perfectly, if M. de Flobert had followed his advice and given him adequate support. The attack upon Belfast and Carrickfergus could only succeed as a surprise, and discussions, delays, misunderstandings, and above all, ill will, made the undertaking fail, because they gave the English time to come up with the French fleet. The Minister

should have seen that divided authority upon an expedition of this kind could only have an unfortunate result It prevented Thurot from giving play to that impetuosity of his which so often brought him success, and exposed him to a rebuff. He was the victim of his own zeal and courage.

Here ends the story of Thurot's life, written in 1791. We have added the following notes by way of supplement.

Louis XV sent a brevet for a pension of fifteen hundred pounds to the corsair's widow, an Irishwoman named Smille (1), whom the captain married in 1750.

It was Mme de Pompadour herself who secured this favour from the King by the intermediary of the Marshal de Belle-Isle. *I am greatly affected*, the Marquise wrote, *by this catastrophe which has overtaken poor Thurot. His family have been recommended to me, and in spite of the unhappy times, I shall do all that lies in my power to console them in some measure for the loss of this brave man who deserved a better fate. With three small frigates he did prodigies, holding the English fleets at bay for more than a year. It seems to me that if he had had the command at Brest, things would have taken a better turn. He lived and died like a hero : even the English feared and respected him. So far as his glory is concerned this is well enough, but it is not enough for that of France. He was the last hope our navy had, and now unfortunately he is no more. I repeat, I intend to take care of his family.*

But, during the Revolution, Mme Thurot died, and the captain's daughter was reduced to a condition bordering on misery, for she had only a pension of three hundred livres to live upon. In 1791, the National Assembly had brought before it a request on behalf of the hero's descendant, and Barrère was appointed to make report. *I have to speak to you about the only daughter of Captain Thurot. The mention of Thurot's name must recall to the mind of France a great sailor, who was the terror of the English who honoured him, and the glory of the French Navy which lost him at the age of 33. His daughter is in want : she has no resources and no other protector than the representatives of the nation. What will the country do for the only offspring of this famous sailor? If she had been born in a privileged caste, her family would have had benefits poured upon*

(1) Doubtless Smith.

it. Thurot is a hero sprung from the class then called plebeian, and it is the duty of the representatives of that class to support his family. I ask that the assembly, in consideration of the services rendered to the State by Captain Thurot, should decree that to Mlle Thurot, his only daughter, shall be given the sum of 1,000 livres as a pension for life, the 300 crowns which she enjoys from the late bursaries to be included therein.

The Tribunes and the Assembly rose, acclaiming the corsair, and Mlle Thurot received her pension.

Surgeon Thurot, according to the witness of his contemporaries, was of medium build, strong looking, tanned by the elements and very skilled in feats that demanded strength. On duty, he was severe, but generous and affable in private life. With a scientifically inclined mind, he made a study of *all the sciences which a good sailor should know.* He never concealed the fact that nobility of birth meant nothing to him unless it was completed by experience and good character. Careless of his own life, Thurot often exposed himself to save that of the least among his sailors. His crews would have followed him everywhere, for he had a wonderful gift as a leader of men. But Thurot had two weak points : he was superstitious, and very anxious not to have anything to do with the little town of Nuits where he was born, declaring that he was a native of Boulogne. Did he perhaps think that if he owned himself a Burgundian he would be considered a poor sailor? It is possible, or was it that the story of the silver plate he stole from the Counsellor of Nuits weighed upon his mind? It is certain that at Versailles, Thurot had allowed it to be believed that he came from an Irish family and was the grandson of an officer who had served in the armies of James II and had emigrated to Boulogne. But on the occasion when Mlle Thurot's pension was increased, the National Assembly was given irrefutable proofs of the corsair's birth at Nuits. Thurot's brother, Jacques Thurot, sent the following document to Paris :

I, the undersigned Jacques Thurot, living in the town of Dijon in Burgundy, bear witness and certify that François Thurot, born at Nuits in 1727, my eldest brother, is he who was at Boulogne-sur-Mer; that he left me at Dijon where he had learnt surgery, with the purpose of going to sea; that he did indeed serve at sea, and

then became a corsair; that afterwards he obtained the rank of captain, and was killed sword in hand on February 28th, 1760 on the Carrickfergus expedition.

One of the captains's cousins, Guillaume Thurot, a merchant at the town of Nuits in Burgundy, more than probably the author of the hero's *Life* which we have reproduced, also certified to the President of the National Assembly that *François Thurot, born at the said town of Nuits is he who was at Boulogne-sur-Mer after having been apprentice to a surgeon on board a corsair vessel, and then as a corsair himself.*

These declarations are dated August 5th, 1791, but there is another certificate signed by nine judges or aldermen of the Admiralty of Boulogne, wherein it is declared that flute-captain Thurot, killed on board the frigate *Belle-Isle,* on February 28th, 1760 was not a native of Boulogne, but that he went there about the year 1747, after having lived some time at Calais, where his career at sea began.

Finally, there is the baptismal certificate of the captain, which we have discovered. This disposes of all doubts upon the subject :

This day, the 22nd of July 1727, I the priest undersigned, have baptised François, son born in lawful wedlock to Master François Thurot, postmaster and wine merchant at Nuits and of the virtuous Michelle Chammonet, who came into the world the evening before and has had for godfather, Master François le Deult, Royal Counsellor, receiver of consignments, and, for godmother, the virtuous lady Guillaumette Viennot, wife of Master Marey, factor, of Nuits, who have undersigned :

Viennot. Marey. Ledeult. F. Thurot and Jeannin, priest.

Sooner or later, history always brings the truth to light ; if François Thurot, instead of ending his days as a good country doctor terminated his adventurous career upon a quarter-deck, speaking trumpet in hand, and with a pistol at his belt, it is because, when a tiny child in his father's courtyard at the Post Inn at Nuits, he thought with admiration of the smart postillions, and dreamed of journeys that would carry him over the roads of the great world, and out upon the dark green waters of the ocean.

JEAN D'ALBARADE

CORSAIR AND LATER MINISTER OF THE NAVY

1743 TO (1819)

LA MARINE RETABLIE, ET PORTÉE AU PLUS HAUT DEGRÉ DE SPLENDEUR PAR LOUIS XVI.
M.D.C.C.LXXVIII.
Sous le Ministere
de Monsieur de Sartine

The archives of the navy contain the two following extracts which are worthy of inclusion in an anthology of the heroism of our seafaring men :

I, the undersigned, captain commanding the frigate Le Labour, *corsair of Saint-Jean-de-Luz, armed against the enemies of the State with eighteen six pounder guns, and with a crew of two hundred and twenty men.*

Certify that the Sieur d'Albarade served upon my ship as a lieutenant in the year 1760 and in the year 1761, and that he distinguished himself with as much bravery and courage as coloness, notably in the engagement against two large English ships that I captured, the one called the Frere Galley, of London, mounted with

16 six pounder guns and 12 swivel guns and with a crew of fifty-five men, in which engagement having several wounded, the Sieur d'Albarade was among those wounded in the head, and myself also dangerously wounded in the side by grape-shot. In witness whereof I have delivered the present certificate for his service and that the truth may be known.

Given at Ciboure, the 20th of June, 1761. *Signed : Pierre NAGUILLE*

Uniforms of the Royal Navy at the time of Louis XVI. From left to right : Sailor; Vice-Admiral in undress uniform; Admiral in full dress.

The second extract is in these words :

I, the undersigned, captain commanding the Corvette La Minerve, *corsair of Bayonne, armed as a privateer against the enemies of the State with four guns, fourteen swivel guns and a crew of sixty-three men.*

Certify that the sieur d'Albarade served upon my ship as a lieutenant, and that he distinguished himself with both boldness and calmness when I attacked and boarded the English ship called Le Jenny, *of London, armed with 16 guns and*

with a crew of 25 men, which was the chief of three ships also armed with guns which took to flight immediately they had seen their leader captured, without my being able to catch up with them, having been obliged to heel my ship, being endangered by a hole below the water line caused by a cannon ball, being out of action and a great part of my crew unable to fight, both killed and wounded.

At close quarters, M. d'Albarade, being on the square-sail yard the better to

Ch. Poullet inv. *Baugean sculp*

LIFE OF THE CORSAIRS. — THE ENROLMENT.

jump upon the enemy, was several times fired upon with a blunderbuss by the English captain; the latter, in his turn, was pressed with the sabre by M. d'Albarade immediately he went on board. He escaped by quitting his own ship and coming on board mine. The enemy crew, who also had killed and wounded, were compelled to ask for quarter and to surrender, after I had gone from my ship to theirs, not having given them the time to compass their retreat below, where they had guns and weapons in the cabin and between decks.

In this bloody struggle, the Sieur d'Albarade was wounded, once in the head and again in the foot, but in spite of these wounds he did not cease fighting, and was

the first to leap on board the enemy's ship. I entrusted to him the command of this prize, which was of considerable value, to take it to France, and he came safely to port with it at Bayonne. In witness whereof, I have delivered the present certificate for his service and to let the truth be known.

Given at Hendaye, the 21st of November, 1761.

Signed : Pierre DELATRE.

LIFE OF THE CORSAIRS. — BEFORE DEPARTURE.

Who was this sieur d'Albarade who little feared the fire of the Englishmen? Naval history has not given this officer the place he deserves in our annals of the sea. He must indeed have been possessed of unusual qualities since he was able to rise from the rank of Corsair to that of Minister of the Navy under the Convention, and Rear-Admiral under the Directory.

Jean d'Albarade came from the Landes; his family belonged to Saint-Jean-de-Luz and owned property there. If the corsair and future Minister was born on the 31st of April 1743 at Biarritz, and not at Saint-

Jean-de-Luz, it was because his father, Etienne d'Albarade, was teaching hydrography at Bayonne to the eager youth of that port, so busy in the XVIIIth century, and because Mme d'Albarade had thought fit to lie in upon a small property situated on the sea shore to which the youthful couple had given the name of *Espérance*. The child's eyes first opened upon that ocean which was to become the passion of his life.

SHELTERING IN A FORT.

Jean d'Albarade was well taught at Bayonne. His father, the professor of hydrography, further provided him with a very sound technical education. So, at the age of nineteen, he had no difficulty in finding a place as apprentice-pilot, that is to say as pupil-officer, on board the King's flute *Outarde,* with the pay of 15 pounds a month. The young man first crossed the ocean on this ship, which was under the command of a Basque captain, Duragony, who took it to Quebec.

On his return to Bayonne, his passion for the sea having made itself fully apparent, Jean d'Albarade had but one desire : to join the crew of a

corsair. It is not difficult to understand this determination, when it is realised that at this period the Admiralty were trying to attract clever young corsairs to the *King's Ships :* in fact, the door to the navy stood wide open to members of the merchant marine, and navigators were put on the same footing as « fire-ship captains » ; its lieutenants had the standing of lieutenants in the navy, and the right to wear epaulettes and the decorations of Saint-Louis.

On August 2nd, 1760, young d'Albarade was very well content to sign an engagement as lieutenant-supernumerary on board the corsair *Labour,* of Saint-Jean-de-Luz, which, in the course of a few months, took no less than thirteen prizes. The certificate which we have quoted, given at the end of the campaign by Captain Pierre Naguille, makes it quite clear that the corsair's profession was perfectly suited to the temperament of this son of a professor of Hydrography.

So, before he had fully recovered from the wound in the head which he had received on board the *Labour,* Jean d'Albarade signed a new agreement with Captain Pierre Delatre. The latter was one of the *aces* among the privateers of the port of Bayonne, and, as commander of the *Espérance* had, in 1757, captured an English convoy to which belonged a large ship, the *Blacksay,* and several times revictualled the Marquis de Montauban. At the present time, Pierre Delatre was commanding a fine four-masted ship, the *Minerve.* It was from the yard of this schooner that d'Albarade leaped upon the *Jenny's* deck, going straight for the English captain, with drawn sword, as the second certificate reproduced certifies. But, as this document also tells us, the *Minerve* was badly holed, and she had to spend a long time in dry dock, and d'Albarade found himself on shore. He did not stay long, for in January 1762, he again embarked as first lieutenant upon a fine frigate with a crew of a hundred and twenty men. This was the *Triomphante,* with Captain Lavernis in command.

In spite of bad weather, — and the sea is often rough in the Gulf of Gascony, — the *Triomphante* sailed up and down the Spanish coast from February to May 1762, without meeting a single enemy ship. Suddenly, on May 5th, 1762, the *Triomphante* came upon an English convoy of five handsome ships with well filled holds, which she captured after a

brisk struggle. This capture meant a fortune to the owners, and a very fine bonus to officers and crew.

Jean d'Albarade, with his purse sufficiently well lined, was now in a position to ask to enter the *King's service* without fear of a rebuff. On the 19th of June, the same year, he was appointed *seaman and assistant pilot* to Lieutenant de Chateauvert, who then commanded a frigate of 46 guns, the *Malicieuse.* Jean d'Albarade remained one year *with the*

The Triton *boarded by the corsair* Hasard.

State, but his longing for the life of a privateer drove him to ask for leave *to resume the life of a corsair.*

Back at Bayonne, he renewed relations with the owners of the Basque port, and in turn served as second officer, *at 90 livres a month,* upon different corsairs, the *Régime,* the *Marie,* the *Sainte-Anne,* the *Saint-Jean.* Privateering expeditions and ordinary transport work succeeded one another, and Captain Jean d'Albarade's fame spread throughout the maritime circles.

The War of Independence gave a new field of activity to the corsairs, and ships were fitted out everywhere, at Bayonne, Nantes, in Brittany and at Dunkirk. Capable captains were in much demand, and were tempted by very high pay. In August 1779, one of the richest owners at Morlaix offered d'Albarade the command of a magnificent fighting ship, the *Duchesse-de-Chartres,* which mounted a dozen excellent guns and several carronades. Manned by a hundred and seven men, and an excellent sea boat, the frigate was one to be dreaded. Leaving Morlaix on September 5th, 1779, this ship, on the 22nd, gave chase to an English vessel of thirty-two guns, and two days later, began to keep under observation a small British fleet.

On September 25th, the *Duchesse-de-Chartres* attacked one of the English frigates, the *General Dulling,* and after an artillery and musketry duel which lasted three hours, d'Albarade boarded and captured the English ship. A prize crew was placed aboard her, but while the cargo which amounted to 600,000 livres, was being examined, two enemy sloops appeared on the horizon, crowding sail and bearing down upon the corsair. He had to make preparations for a new fight.

The wind was blowing a gale from the south, and the seas were high ; the starboard tacks were aboard. The prize, the *General Dulling,* on board of which thirteen of the French crew had been put, left the *Duchesse-de-Chartres,* took larboard tacks aboard, and turned to meet the enemy, who very quickly captured her. Meanwhile, Captain d'Albarade was hurriedly repairing the damage he had suffered in the previous engagement : his sails especially had suffered, and it was almost impossible for him to manœuvre his ship properly . *At noon a cutter of 14 guns, coming up from the south-west, came to watch the* Duchesse-de-Chartres, *and took her larboard tacks aboard without coming nearer. M. d'Albarade could do practically nothing to defend himself, his sails and tackle being in such evil state, and he could not use his guns or swivel guns on the lee side, for they were entirely under water. The sea which swamped the between decks greatly interfered with the musketry, the men being in the water, and very tired, In spite of all these difficulties, the captain, determined to defend his ship and keep his flag flying, cleared his decks from stem to stern by throwing everything into the sea that was upon them, save only the guns and other arms, so that there might be nothing to get in their way.*

The sailors were somewhat alarmed at the idea of fighting in such an unsatisfactory state two powerful ships of the line, and they realised, not without anguish, that the enemy had thirty guns and *being to leeward could very quickly make an end of the « Duchesse-de-Chartres ».* Jean d'Albarade remained immovable in his determination to fight, and to board the enemy as the only tactics he could employ with any chance of success.

THE LANDING OF THE WOUNDED.

There being no other arms to use except sabres and hatchets, the captain, to encourage his men, himself took some up and put them down at the foot of the main-mast in a barrel that had been set there so that the water which flooded the deck should not carry it away, and said to the crew : « These are all we can use to-day, and those who need them must come and take them from the barrel. »

The two English ships, seeing that the *Duchesse-de-Chartres* was making practically no progress (she made tho and a half leagues an hour), posted themselves, *one to windward and the other to leeward within gunshot range.* Soon the *Lively,* falling astern, fired a full broadside and made to go to leeward. The other ship, the *Swallow,* then also fireda full broadside, but

could not prevent the *Duchesse-de-Chartres* from closing with the *Lively* while this ship was passing before her.

At this precise moment, Captain d'Albarade was seriously wounded in the left shoulder, and the bullet which hit him broke his breastbone. Blood poured from the wound, and, as his officers surrounded him, the corsair stood up and said to silence them : *Be quiet, it is nothing,* and holding on to the edge of the poop, with his right hand, he continued to give orders. The situation was critical ; the *Lively* got loose, with only

LIFE OF THE CORSAIRS. — THE CAPTURE OF A CUTTER.

its main chain-wale broken. As soon as his bowsprit was free, d'Albarade hastened to fire all his guns on the wind side almost point blank at the enemy's stern, then heeling to starboard, closed with the *Swallow* behind him. Unfortunately, his men, perched upon the mainmast, hesitated, instead of jumping on the Englishman's deck, and so endangered the success of the attempt at boarding.

But the grapplers had done their work well, and, for three quarters of an hour, from deck to deck, the struggle continued with musket and

cold steel, even to the point of hurling cannon balls, planks, spikes and blocks at one another. D'Albarade ran to the stern, sword in hand, to lead his men on to the *Swallow's* deck. Then a cannon ball, fortunately spent, struck him on the left side, throwing him to the ground and taking his breath away. The Captain had still courage left to call to his first lieutenant, the sieur Cotte, to give him his sabre, and *to commend to his care the honour of the flag.* Then he swooned, *losing great gouts of blood.*

LIFE OF THE CORSAIRS. — SHARING THE SPOIL.

When d'Albarade came to himself, he was a prisoner with his beloved *Duchesse-de-Chartres.* The surgeons succeeded in healing his wounds, but long months of continued and careful nursing at Pembroke were necessary before his life was out of danger. The British Admiralty returned the captain his sword, and the English officers *did not cease to express their esteem for him.*

A contemporary memoir gives us the following details upon the wound in question. *The musket bullet which M. d'Albårade received at the top of the left arm, passed beneath the great artery. It penetrated the chest and*

fractured the sternum. It could not be extracted because it had entered the cavity of the thorax, and there remained. On December 15 1779, a piece of the lining of his coat came out through the fracture in the chest, and on the 14th of January, a small bone or splinter of the sternum.

The English made no difficulty over the exchange of M. d'Albarade,

BEACHING THE SHIP.

and he was able to leave Pembroke on the 27th of January, 1780, with the most flattering testimonials.

After d'Albarade's return to France from his forced stay in England as a prisoner, many privateer owners made offers to him, and one of Saint Malo entrusted to him the command of a magnificent frigate, the *Aigle,* of forty guns and a crew of three hundred men. Built by Desjardins of Saint Malo, it was sheathed with copper. Another frigate, the *Duchesse-de-Polignac* went with the *Aigle.*

Jean d'Albarade, captain of the *Aigle,* surpassed himself, and upon his first cruise captured seventeen ships, three of which were English

corsairs, and two hundred and ninety-four prisoners. In October, 1781, the *Aigle* went to sea again, and in British waters captured three enemy ships, of which one was a frigate. When the prizes had been made safe at Dunkirk, the *Aigle* cruised about the Channel, where she sank a frigate of 36 guns, another of 22, and two small cutters. Going over to the

THE CAPTURE OF THE CORSAIR.

Ocean, the *Aigle* made her base in the roads of Saint-Martin de Ré, towards the end of November, 1781.

It was off the island of Ré that the corsair captain received a sealed letter from the Minister of the Navy. In it, he read to his amazement the stern command that he should lay up the *Aigle,* he having seduced the sailors of the royal fleet in order to complete the crews of the corsair ships. Some anonymous person, envious of the glory of the *Aigle's* commander, had complained to Versailles by what was then known as a *factum,* of these alleged attempts to get the sailors to desert. The only reply that d'Albarade could make to the Minister's commands, took the form of

the following admirable letter. It is to be found in his dossier in the Archives of the Navy.

On board the frigate Aigle, *in the roads of Saint-Martin-de-Ré, the 25th of December, 1781.*

My Lord,

A sailor, zealous for his native land, who, from his childhood, in the late wars

GETTING AFLOAT AGAIN.

as in the present, has never ceased to seek out and engage the enemies of the State; an officer, whose health, impaired by serious wounds, has never relaxed his passion for war or his ardour for privateering, can it be that he has had the misfortune to displease a Minister who is animated by the same sentiments, and always ready to encourage them?

If I have been lacking, My Lord, to the point of having incurred your displeasure, it has assuredly never been deliberate on my part. I venture to think, indeed, that I have some small claim to your indulgence. Perhaps I should not have need of it

to-day if, for reasons which I do not pretend to understand, some person had not thought fit to accuse me wrongly, or at least to aggravate my mistakes.

I am about to sail, and lay up my ship in port since my latest misfortune will have it so. At this moment it is of all possible courses the most dangerous, both because of the enemy, and of the dangers of the sea. If I lose my life I shall have the consolation of knowing that I have sacrificed it to obedience, as I have a thousand

TAKEN PRISONER ASHORE.

times risked it for the glory of my King and his colours. But I shall do so knowing to my sorrow that I have been reduced thereto by most unjust accusations.

No, my Lord, I have not merited them. Allow a soldier, who has been accused to you, to venture to render to himself this testimony. I am much more ready to bring back deserting sailors than to tempt them from the King's service, and, permit me to say, to train many new ones if I have the honour to be supported and encouraged.

But my heart tells me that you are too enlightened a man to refuse me justice. You shall see, my Lord, that far from harming the Royal Navy, the action which some would impute to me as a crime, would produce the very opposite effect. So long

as the King's ships have crews, they will always get the better of the English, but the best way to secure good crews is by privateering, and to wish to place too rigorous restrictions on privateering is to cut off the roots, and to prevent the multiplication of seamen. Three years ago, I took the liberty to write and predict what is happening to-day. The evil increases every day, and if the most effective of all remedies is obstinately proscribed, it will go beyond repair. To sow one that twenty may be reaped, is better than to sow one and gather nothing, and so to lose the splendid harvest of twenty for one that was certain to be produced.

After so many cruises and honourable engagements, I had at last attained the command of the finest frigate in Europe, the Aigle, *and had been the first to prove, by the experience of a very sharp engagement (contrary to the opinion that all sailors had expressed), that with the scantling for 12, it was possible to mount and fire 24s. After this, I can no longer regret the overwhelming labours, twice making the tour of the Three Kingdoms, and sailing through the most dangerous seas since I have been aboard this frigate. I am more pleased with this than with the, to me, barren satisfaction of having taken in the meanwhile twenty-eight English ships, whereby there has resulted great profit to the State and to trade, since among them there were six corsairs.*

It causes me the greatest pain to see that in spite of so many prizes, my owners have up to the present experienced heavy losses, of which the most considerable is occasioned by the delay and the checks under which I have so long suffered, because I have not been able to undertake the expedition for which the Aigle *was fitted, whereof the King was aware, and the success of which would have been of the greatest benefit to the government.*

What have been the fruits of my zeal, my battles and my wounds, the last of which caused me to be taken for dead? My imprisonment at Lorient, and the threat that I may return to it. Rather would I that a cannon ball should end my days and my misfortunes.

If I were sailing for the hope of gain, I should be doing as so many other merchant captains do; and limiting myself to sailing to the colonies, I should have secured rich results with small hazard to my person.

This coast is infested by corsairs : they come even into the roads and take several prizes there. There is no King's ship to drive them away. Before disarming (if I am still obliged to do so) I hope to have the satisfaction of chasing them and of rendering this last service to the King, the State and commerce.

As soon as they discover that the Aigle *is on their tracks, they will make off. The English, my Lord, know this frigate well.*

I am, with profound respect, your Lordship's very humble and obedient servant.

D'Albarade.

The captain of the *Aigle* brought back his beautiful copper sheathed

THE LIFE OF THE CORSAIRS. — THE ESCAPE.

frigate to Saint Malo, sinking two enemy ships on the way. D'Albarade went to Paris and Versailles where he enjoyed, to use his own expression, some credit, especially with the Duchesse de Polignac, who had been touched by the officer's compliment in calling after her one of the privateers under his command. D'Albarade had no difficulty in proving that the accusation that had been brought against him was the work of those who envied him, and the Minister of the Navy sent him back to the regular fleet with the rank of Frigate-captain.

It was at this time that the Bailiff de Suffren was fitting out expeditions against India ; fleets were gathering at the Isle de France, and the Frigate-

Captain left Lorient in September 1782 to take the Bailliff a well armed frigate called the *Fier*. Having reached the Cape, d'Albarade received orders to anchor in the bay of Trichinopoly in Ceylon.

He had only just reached the port of concentration when Suffren gave him the duty of escorting to Cape Bourbon some vessels with troops and supplies for the expedition to India. Then, the main part of the squadron having left, d'Albarade was instructed to privateer in the Indian Ocean.

He performed this task very well, and the *Fier* several times assured the revictualling of the Isles of France and Bourbon, thanks to the capture of ships belonging to the East India Company, the *Old Lady of the Tower of London,* according to the expression of those days. Returned to Brest in 1785, the Captain had to lead a life of wearisome inactivity in the depots of the fleet during the years which preceded the Revolution. Then politics became the primary consideration, and interfered with all initiative.

The Revolution promoted d'Albarade to the rank of Captain. He had not considered it right to emigrate, and moreover, did not hide his republican sympathies. He was given the command of an excellent ship, the *Astrée*, of Brest. To the young revolutionary administration, d'Albarade, trained and experienced, represented a genuine force capable of yielding sterling service. Lacoste, the Minister of the Navy, who knew d'Albarade's professional worth, and had served under him as second lieutenant, drew the government's attention to this officer. The Navy, shaken to the core by the emigration of its officers, was in a very bad way. What measures could be taken to reorganise it, to create squadrons worthy of the name, to organise centres, arsenals, — in one word, to bring back to life a body that seemed already moribund ?

In December 1792, Captain d'Albarade, now Dalbarade in one word only, produced his report. It is a very complete document, but it hides in some measure the degree of disorganisation into which the harbours and fleets of the Republic had fallen for want of personnel, money, and especially, discipline. The *spirit of the navy* had been replaced in both

Lieutenant and Seaman an 1792. (From Marbot.)

arsenal and ship by the *demon of the club*. Nevertheless, there was much that was valuable in this report : it included a definite scheme for the regrouping of naval forces, and especial emphasis was laid upon the urgent necessity of *sending the squadrons to sea to raise their morale, and give experience to officers and sailors alike*. Lacoste, the Minister of the Navy asked d'Alba-

LIFE OF THE CORSAIRS. — FLIGHT.

rade to remain with him as assistant, and he entered upon his post on March 1st, 1793.

One year later, on the 10th of April, 1794, the Convention appointed Jean d'Albarade Minister of the Navy. The ex-corsair has been reproached with having shown on this occasion a certain political complacency, and with having too readily gone back upon his past. It has even been concluded that he was lacking in character. This seems a very easy way of disposing of all his innumerable glorious actions. Moreover, it was not long before the new Minister was accused of undue weakness with regard to the *ci-devants* who were still serving in the navy.

But d'Albarade needed officers who knew their business, and where was he to find them except in the old cadres? For two years he fought foot by foot to prevent the complete *sans-culotisme* of the navy, which would have entailed the complete collapse of the last vestiges of our maritime forces. An old corsair himself, the Minister devoted all his energies to the fight waged by captains who privateered *against the coalition.* But still accused of *moderatism,* he was obliged to resign on July 2nd, 1793 and accept a command.

With the coming of the Directory he was Rear-Admiral commanding the port of Lorient. A tragic disaster then broke the spell of his good fortune. On the 11th of Floréal, Year II, when the ship, *Le 14 juillet* was in dry dock in the Lorient arsenal, a fire suddenly broke out on board. The vessel was completely burned out, and her loss not only cost the State more than three millions, but deprived the Republican fleet of one of her best ships. D'Albarade, the commander of the port of Lorient was held responsible ; a decree of the Directory, signed the 18th of Floréal, declared him placed on the retired list forthwith and brought him before a court-martial. The court decided that d'Albarade must be judged *incapable of holding any command.* The Rear-Admiral appealed against this severe sentence, and the matter came before a council of war that sat at Paris on the 19th Brumaire, Year V. This tribunal acquitted d'Albarade, but the evil was already done and his career broken.

The ex-Minister retired to his family home at Saint-Jean-de-Luz. But on the occasion of the expedition to Egypt, he wrote a personal letter (which has been placed in his dossier), asking General Bonaparte for a command so that he might once again set out against the English. The letter was never answered. So the Rear-Admiral embarked under a false name upon a corsair of Saint-Jean-de-Luz, the *Légère* which was commanded by his own brother, known as d'Albarade the Younger. In the Year VIII they captured a Portuguese vessel of 8, though the *Légère* was but an inferior ship.

The Imperial Navy gave a pension of 2,000 francs to the ex-corsair, and added the cross of the Legion of Honour. At the Restoration, probably in memory of the Duchesse de Chartres, this pension was increased from 2,000 to 4,000 francs.

Every day, the Admiral could go the rounds of the ramparts, and taste the tang of the sea in the harbour of the old town of Saint-Jean-de-Luz. Then his wounds opened again and his rheumatism became more trying. Jean d'Albarade, who had pinned the cross of Saint Louis to his

In a battery between decks. (Engraving by Crépin.)
" A Naval Gunner firing though wounded. "

coat, died in 1819. Punctilious to the end, he had waited until the evening of December 31st, to leave this earth.

After his death. Louis XVIII, who had known the corsair at Versailles, gave instructions that the cross and brevet of the Order of Saint-Louis which his brother had given to the Rear-Admiral on the 11th of August, 1787, should be sought at his house. The King's purpose in this was to make sure whether these things had been deposited with the municipality in

accordance with a decree of the Convention of July 28th, 93, or whether, as was so often done on such occasions, others had been substitued. The search was vain. All that was found was the small cross of Saint Louis that the old officer always wore after the return of the Bourbons. The rumour ran through the town of Saint-Jean-de Luz that Admiral d'Albarade, anxious to take with him to the other world the certain witness of his splendid career as a brave sailor, had swallowed his Cross of Saint-Louis, the one given him by Louis XVI, the very day he died, which was that of Saint Silvester in the Year of Grace, 1819.

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Esquemeling went to the Islands as a hired man in the service of a filibuster. He returned to Europe in 1674 and revisited the Islands several times. He assisted at the taking of Carthagena in 1657. The date and place of his death are not known.

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(1) The following notes upon Father Du Tertre's life may be of interest. This missionary was born at Calais, where his father was a doctor. After a sound education he embarked as apprentice pilot upon a Dutch ship which took him to Greenland. Leaving the sea, he enlisted in the army of the Prince of Orange and took part in the siege of Maestricht (1633). At the call of grace, the young man entered the order of the Dominicans and Father Carré received his profession on June 24th, 1635. In 1640, the Superior of the Order sent him to Guadeloupe. A friend of the Du Parquet family, he passed some time at Martinique. He returned to France in 1647 and stayed there till 1655. Sent to Martinique to buy the island of Grenada on behalf of the sieur de Cérillac, he was taken prisoner by the English and roughly treated. He only recovered his freedom after three months imprisonment. Arrived at Martinique, he fulfilled the purpose for which he had been sent, and visited Grenada. He stayed there « visiting the other islands » and returned to France in 1657. He re-embarked in December 1667 with the Comte de Cérillac with the intention of going to Grenada, but a storm destroyed the expedition, and he returned to Paris. From 1665 to 1683, he was rector at Toul, and then retired to the novitiate in the rue Saint-Honoré, where he died in 1687, at the age of seventy-seven.

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